DANTE IN PURGATORY

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States of Affect

by

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BREPOLS

Contents

*D*ante in Purgatory: States of Affect offers a reading of Dante's *Purgatorio*, perhaps the most beautiful, most haunting, and most affective part of the *Commedia*. It is not a complete reading; it concentrates only on those passages whose focus is on affective states. Analysis of what is meant by 'affect', drawing on psychoanalysis, appears in Chapter 1, which says little specifically about Dante. Emotional states are called 'states of affect', because the word *emotion* presumes that the feeling is the product of an individual subject who knows what he or she feels and moves out to the external world with recognizable feelings. 'Affect' implies that states in which the subject feels something derive from both inside and outside, including conditions, including those of language and of discursive formations, which create the subject as feeling in certain ways. Such constructions meet and contrast with, if they do not contradict, impulses coming from the self connecting with, desiring, what is outside. The book argues that what we think of as 'emotions' are not ahistorical products of our sensibilities, but are created historically and discursively; there is a history of how at different moments, affective states have been created.

A history of such concepts as the passions, the will, and the desire for *apatheia*, as these developed from the classical to the early Christian period, is in Chapter 2. Here, it is shown how 'emotions' were described, and attacked, and down-graded, and specifically objectified as 'capital vices', in Evagrius of Pontus, in his disciple Cassian, and, later, in Gregory the Great. Chapter 3, on the soul, shows how Dante understood the relationship between the *appetites*, which had been seen as states of desire emanating from inside, the *reason*, and the *will*. This leads into the question, what does it mean to think of someone as marked by vice, or by virtue? Dante deliberated on this in *Convivio*, *c.* 1304, left incomplete: it was where he intended to expound virtues, and how they arose from the love of

philosophy. At some stage, for reasons often explored, but still not wholly under-stood, he moved from this to the *Commedia*, and to the distinctions between vices and sins of *Inferno*, and then to the seven capital vices. How *Purgatorio* is put together comes in the final section, which reads Canto XVII. 82–139, giving Virgil's rationale for and order of the vices to be purged, and examines the dis-cussion of love and free will (Canto XVIII. 10–75).

The sequential reading of *Purgatorio* starts with Chapter 4, on Cantos I and II; I have little to say here on Cantos III to IX, which deal with ante-Purgatory, but from Chapters 5 to 11, concentrate on the purgation of the 'capital vices', pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice and greed, overeating (overconsuming), and sexual desire, which I see as affective states, and as linked. The last chapter concludes *Purgatorio*, including Matelda, and the Earthly Paradise.

I started thinking about this project after reading Jacques Le Goff's *The Birth of Purgatory* at the end of the 1980s, and considering how it connects Purgatory as a new state with new forms of narrative, ways of thinking about time, and liminal forms of identity in process, outside the binary division of 'saved' or 'damned'. Drafts of some chapters that follow began appearing in the 1990s and I thank the journals' editors for permission to reprint: *Exemplaria*, for '"Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito": Dante and the Moderns', 6 (1994), 405–27; *Modern Language Review* for 'Getting Above the Thunder: Dante in the Sphere of Saturn', 90 (1995), 632–45; *New Literary History* for 'Dante and the Modern Subject: Overcoming Anger in the *Purgatorio*', 28 (1997), 401–20; and *Forum for Modern Language Studies* for 'Dreaming the Siren: Dante and Melancholy', 40 (2004), 56–69. Other material written on Dante from the 1990s onwards, more loosely relevant to this argument, appears in the Bibliography.

Quotations from the *Commedia* are taken from the three-volume edition of Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1999–2001), and for the Italian minor works, from the *Opere minori* in two volumes edited by Domenico de Robertis, Gianfranco Contini, and Cesare Vasoli (Milan: Ricciardi, 1979). For the *Commedia* I have drawn freely on the translation and commentaries of Charles Singleton and on those by Sapegno, by Bosco and Reggio, and by Durling and Martinez, and on editions of the *Vita nuova* by Dino S. Cervigni and Edward Vasta, and of the *Convivio* by Michael Ryan and Richard Lansing, and the two volumes of Dante's lyric poetry in the edition by Kenelm Foster and Patrick Boyde. Details of all these appear in the Bibliography, and I would like to acknowledge how all these editions have been formative for insights on virtually every page of this book.

I began the writing after 2003, with the aid of a grant from the Hong Kong University Grants Council, which enabled me to pursue this research. Three research assistants have worked at various times on it: Bob Tsang, Pablo Tsoi, and Ian Fong, and to each of them I am grateful. Paul Fung, Sam Jenkins, and Alfie Bown have helped materially with the preparation of the manuscript. Colleagues in Manchester have helped: Spencer Pearce, with good conversations about Dante, and with reading the manuscript, Kate Cooper with Augustine, and Jeremy Gregory with other aspects of church history. I thank the anonymous reader of the book for Brepols. Permission for the reproduction of the cover photographs has been graciously granted by the Uffizi museum in Florence, under the auspices of the Ministry for Culture and Environment. To three libraries among others I am particularly grateful: the University of Hong Kong Library, whose staff and facilities have always been magnificent, the Warburg Institute in London, and Manchester University. I thank members of my immediate family for their forbearance during periods of writing. I dedicate this book to three early teachers of mine whose impact was immeasurable and unforgettable: David Handforth, the late Michael Fitch, and Brian Worthington.

ON AFFECT

Can we understand a text of the past in its historical context? Or know the states of mind that such a text includes? What we think we understand runs the danger of being a matter of finding places where our present states seem to be mirrored in the text. The point is accentuated with emotions. What relation does the twenty-first century person have to the emotional states recorded, or created, in Dante's work? The particular states, which I call 'affects', and which are studied here, are those presented in *Purgatorio*, where they have been, in part, identified with the 'seven capital vices': with pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust, and, curiously, with their related opposites.

Why 'states of affect', not 'emotional states'? Naming the vices of *Purgatorio* as emotions is difficult. Is gluttony an emotional state? — unless we say that its habit issues from an emotional condition. What is the difference between greed — which often replaces the word *avarice* — and gluttony? Dante's 'sloth' is *acedia*, which has several implications: melancholia, depression, sadness, indifference, laziness. Perhaps none of Dante's terms can be thought of in a direct relationship to the present, nor mapped onto the emotional states that moderns feel. Historical evidence suggests the existence of shifts which, changing one emotional state, change them all. One historian writes:

> Prior to the early modern transition, Western norms did not stress intense, reciprocal affection between parents and children, and positively discouraged romance [...] as the basis for family formation. Anger was freely and publicly expressed as part of social and familial hierarchy, and also as a function of an emphasis on shame as the chief emotional means of community discipline.[1]

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[1] Peter N. Stearns, 'Historical Analysis in the Study of Emotion', *Motivation and Emotion*, 10 (1986), 185–93 (p. 187).

The quotation hesitates between thinking that emotions have been differentially constructed or repressed in different periods (what was 'discouraged', what was 'expressed').

What are we discussing with 'emotions'? For Amélie O. Rorty, we have inherited distinctions between being active and being passive, between states that could be explained by physical processes and those that could not, between rational and non-rational states, and those voluntary and non-voluntary. The history of thinking about emotions includes questioning on which side of these divisions to put emotional states:

> the opponents of Hobbes, wanting to secure benevolence, sympathy and other disinterested attitudes as counter-balances to self-interest, introduced them as sentiments with motivational power. Passions became emotions and were classified as activities. When the intentionality of emotions was discussed, the list expanded even further: *ressentiment*, aesthetic and religious awe, anxiety and dread were included. Emotions became affects or attitudes. As the class grew, its members became more heterogeneous, the analysis became more ambiguous; and counterexamples were explained away by charges of self-deception.

When we focus on their consequences on behaviour, most emotions can also be described as motives, some — but not all — emotions can also be described as feelings, associated with proprioceptive states. The objects of some emotions — exuberance, melancholy — are difficult to specify; such global states verge towards being moods. Still other emotions come close to being dispositional character traits: we speak of vengeful or affectionate persons. But when we speak of a psychological state as an emotion, contrasting it to feelings, motives, moods, or character traits, we focus on the ways we are affected by our appraisals, evaluative perceptions, or descriptions.[2]

'Emotion' has violent implications. *OED* gives a first English citation in 1679, as meaning 'a political disturbance'. It had already appeared as 'an agitation of the mind'. As 'a state of feeling' it appears, according to *OED*, in 1808. An emotional state is a feeling state: the person is moved by the state he is in. But there may be emotional states where the person does not feel that state. Does a jealous person always realize that he is jealous? For Martha Nussbaum, an 'emotion', in contrast to an 'affect', assumes the autonomy of the person who feels: it is a cognitive state. Her *Upheavals of Thought* discusses as emotions 'grief, fear, love, joy, hope, anger, gratitude, hatred, envy, jealousy, pity, guilt' — all of which may have an

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[2] Amélie O. Rorty, 'Explaining Emotions', in *Explaining Emotions*, ed. by Amélie O. Rorty (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 103–26 (pp. 104–05).

object — but not 'objectless moods such as irritation and endogenous depression'.[3] The form of depression she engages with is attached to a cognition: i.e., 'that one is helpless to control one's environment'.[4]

Rorty suggests that the word *emotions* replaced was 'passion', the correlative of an emotional state because emotion is active, passion passive. The etymology for 'passion' is *passus*, to suffer; a passion contrasts with an autonomous emotion. The Greek *pathos* derives from *paschein*, 'what is experienced or undergone by way of misfortune or harm'.[5] *OED* gives three senses for 'passion'. The first is the suffering of pain: the sufferings of Christ. The second is 'the fact of being acted upon, being passive', 'being acted on or being *affected* by an external agency' (my italics). Here, the definition depends on the word *affection*, which *OED* gives as 'the action of affecting, acting upon, or influencing, or (when viewed passively), the fact of being affected'. *OED* relies on Latin *afficere*, to do, to act on, to influence, or attack with a disease, and so goes back to 'affect'. 'To affect' means 'to attack, to lay hold of, act upon contagiously, or attaint'; it has the same etymology as 'infect', 'to affect, influence, or imbue with some quality or property by immersion or infusion'. Through this infection, which need not be malign, an 'affection' becomes a state of being, temporary or non-essential, or a property, or quality, or attribute (*OED*, n.[1], IV. 11). It seems that the subject auto-affects, which implies a doubleness within it, and the infected affect then infects/affects another.

The third meaning of 'passion' in the *OED* is 'an affection of the mind' — a feeling where the mind is powerfully affected, it being assumed that the characteristic state of the mind is not to be so affected. In Thomas Wright's treatise, *The Passions of the Mind in General* (1604, but issued in shortened form in 1601), a passion is 'a sensual motion of our appetitive facultie, through imagination of some good or evil thing'. Passions can be inordinate: they 'neither observe time nor place: but vpon every occasion would be leaping into action, importuning execution. Let a man fall a praying or studying, or be busie in any negotiation [...]

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[3] See the hostility to 'affect' in Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 24, 61, discussing Michael Stocker and Elizabeth Hegeman, *Valuing Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[4] Nussbaum, *Upheavals*, p. 101.

[5] L. A. Kosman, 'Being Properly Affected: Virtues and Feelings in Aristotle's *Ethics*', in *Essays on Aristotle's 'Ethics'*, ed. by Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 103–16 (p. 104). He points to the English 'afraid' as the passive participle of *affrayed*; 'to affray' means 'to startle' (p. 115).

and very often he shal feele a headlesse Passion to rush in vpon him, importuning him even then to leave all and prosecute revenge [...] or some other vnbridled desire'.[6] 'Passion' then implies something which needs to be controlled. When Shakespeare calls the young man 'the master-mistress of my passion' (Sonnet 20), 'passion' means (a) emotion, (b) love, (c) poem.[7] Poetry is the expression of an affect. How identical poetry and passion are appears in Dante's cornice of lust peopled by poets, which implies that the conditions of writing a poem create the passion. For, as 'affect' suggests, an emotion/passion is both the state and the expression of the state. *OED* 'affect', verb 4, gives the contradictory meaning for the verb: 'to have or display a natural tendency toward, to tend to assume or put on'. What is natural and what is artificial come together, so that meaning 5 follows: 'to show ostentatiously a liking for; to make an ostentatious use or display of; to take upon oneself artificially or for effect, to assume'. As poetry becomes a matter of 'feigning', both expressing desire ('I would fain') and pretence, so emotions have simultaneously both their real and imagined qualities, the latter because they exist in language. A 'passion' includes the emotion of a person, which implies their subjectivity, and cognition, and a rhetorical structure existing and produced within a structure of signs, such as those which support the writing of a poem.[8]

Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), closing the age which thought in terms influenced by Galen, and beginning a new sense of man, speaks about 'animal motion', otherwise called 'voluntary motion', which refers to motions prompted by that which is 'fancied in our minds'.[9] Such motions are called 'endeavour', which 'when it is toward something which causes it is called APPETITE or DESIRE [...] and when the Endeavour is fromward something, it is generally called AVERSION' (p. 119). He adds, 'these words *Appetite* and *Aversion* we have from the *Latines*, and they both of them signifie the motions, one of approaching, the other of retiring' (p. 119). When different appetites come successively into our thoughts, there is DELIBERATION, and the appetite or aversion which relates to that is the WILL, and

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[6] Quoted in Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello: A Contextual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 77, 78.

[7] Stephen Booth, *Shakespeare's Sonnets, Edited with an Analytic Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 165.

[8] Rei Terada, *Feeling in Theory: Emotion After the 'Death of the Subject'* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[9] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 118.

Hobbes concludes that all actions which start from an appetite towards or an aversion against something, are 'voluntary actions' (p. 128). Appetite cannot cease because 'the constitution of a man's Body is in continuall mutation'. Concluding the chapter, Hobbes adds that 'Life itself is Motion, and can never be without Desire' (p. 130). He thinks of 'motions' as created by the imagination, by the body, and by what is outside the body, but since actions are under the will's authority, however irrational that may be, they are in the control of the person doing them: they are emotions, coming from the person.

The difficulty with 'emotion' is that it suggests that as subject I produce conscious feelings. A passion, which is also an affection and an infection, gives the sense that I have been overcome by something from the outside (unless I have infected myself). So we return to 'affect', Nietzsche's word (*affekt*), alongside 'mood' (*stimmung*).[10] 'Mood' is also Heidegger's topic, as not necessarily a subjective or inner state. In Heidegger, 'being there' (*Dasein*) is always disclosed 'moodwise': being cannot be thought outside a nexus of moods. Yet 'mood' should not be allied with specific inner affects and feelings: in thinking about emotions, it is not necessary to consider them as originating from the self. 'A mood assails us. It comes neither from "outside" nor from "inside", but arises out of Being-in-the-world, as a way of such being'.[11] Heidegger continues, discussing different modes of state-of-mind by referring back to Aristotle's treatment of *pathe* (affects) in the *Rhetoric*. (We shall look at this in the next chapter.) This treatment is nothing else than 'the first systematic hermeneutic of the everydayness of Being with each other' (p. 178). Heidegger rejects the idea that interpretation of affects, deriving from Aristotle, should come under the head of 'psychical phenomena'. Rather, 'a state-of-mind not only discloses Dasein in its thrownness and its submission to that world which is already inclosed with its own being; it is itself the existential kind of Being in which Dasein constantly surrenders to the "world"' (p. 178). And '[u]nderstanding always has its mood' (p. 182).

For Augustine (*City of God*, V. 11), animals, including man, have appetites, which are movements of the soul, and which he calls 'affects'. They are caused by delight, and its opposite, abhorrence.[12] An affect here is definable as 'a motion of the mind' (*OED*, 'affect', noun, 1c, citing Elyot, in 1580). William James considered emotions as rising somatically, of being states of the body which then have

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[10] See Stanley Corngold, 'Nietzsche's Moods', *Studies in Romanticism*, 29 (1990), 67–90.

[11] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 176, 178.

[12] See John M. Rist, *Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 173.

to be named, for a definition of affect: 'we may also feel a general seizure of excitement which Wundt, Lehmann and other German writers call an *Affect* and which is what I have all along meant by an emotion' (*OED*, 'affect', noun, 1e). James calls anger, fear, love, hate, joy, grief, shame and pride the 'coarser emotions'.[13] Affects may imply feelings that demand an outlet, that need to be 'abreacted' (drawn off): so Freud argues from the time of *Studies in Hysteria* (1895) onwards. At that point, he thinks of affect in relation to trauma.

The psychoanalyst Otto Rank (1884–1939), in 'Love, Guilt, and the Denial of Feelings' (1927), reads affects pessimistically.[14] He distinguishes affect from 'feeling' (*Gefühl*), which latter Rank calls 'vague, indefinite, indefinable'. Affects, he says, are pathologically intensified feelings which are painful, pain-releasing, including anxiety, jealousy, and hatred. In contrast, he calls love, yearning, and hope 'feelings', thinking of this word as implying pleasure. Whereas 'feelings' unite and bind and are integrative, affects separate and isolate, or, an affect is a reaction to the feeling of separation. Feelings that have a physical expression he calls 'sensations'. They contrast with 'purely inner feelings', and with affect, which he says 'I want to reserve for expression of the feeling of separation', adding: 'I distinguish among three kinds of manifestations of feeling: two external, and one internal. The *external* ones are either uniting, pleasurable "sensations" or separating, painful "affects"; the *internal* one is what I call emotional' (p. 155).

Sensations and emotions, therefore, are differentiated — the former are in relation to another, like love; the latter are more inner — but they are both feelings, differing from affects, for an affect denies the tendency to unite with an object, or even denies that object itself. Yet the emotions, which are binding feelings, involve denial of the differences that separate one identity from another: attempting to 'establish within oneself an externally lacking identity with another' (p. 156). Emotions, for Rank, do not necessarily accord with a truth: the ego can deny the emotion it feels, seeing it as unattainable, or it can identify with it, denying the difference in the other, so using the emotion to establish within itself an identity that does not exist or which does not give it external satisfaction. For Rank, 'the individual is inclined to nothing so much as to hide from himself, or to deny, his feelings' (p. 156). Shame and guilt dominate as emotional reactions, because guilt involves a forced admission to having feelings towards another,

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[13] Quoted in Gemma Corradi Fiumara, *The Mind's Affective Life: A Psychoanalytic and Philosophical Inquiry* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 62.

[14] Otto Rank, *A Psychology of Difference: The American Lectures*, ed. by Robert Kramer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 153–65.

which are repressed by being devalued as feelings. Guilt becomes a crucial, binding way of relating to the other, emanating from a prior denial of feeling.

In contrast to Nussbaum's emotions which know themselves, Freud's essay 'The Unconscious' (1915) discusses affect, and 'unconscious love, hate, anger, etc.'. He 'find[s] it impossible to avoid even the strange conjunction, "unconscious consciousness of guilt", or a paradoxical "unconscious anxiety"'.[15] Freud distinguishes between ideas and affects. For him, everything begins with the drives, the subject of 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes' (1915). Such drives, which are not biological (*not* bodily instincts) are in Freud both sexual and ego-preservative, though this emphasis changes as Freud then thinks of the ego-drives as sexual, and the sexual as marked by the death-drive, and recomposes the drives into an opposition between the life-drives and the death-drives. Lacan's reading of the drive in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (1964) is the most sophisticated development of Freud's work: here 'the drive' attempts to encompass the object (however imaginary) that it invests in, and returns in a loop, creating as it does so, a new subject.[16] Now it is basic to this that a drive can never become an object of consciousness, only the idea that represents it, and the same applies to the unconscious. 'If the instinct [i.e., drive] did not attach itself to an idea or manifest itself as an affective state, we could know nothing about it' (*SE*, XIV, 177). A drive must be represented.

Freud's earlier 'Repression' (1915) also speaks of the drive which shows itself in two ways: in an idea, or representation [*Vorstellung*], and an affect. The affect is not necessarily bound to the mental representation, especially if this has been subjected to repression as unacceptable. Though the drive may be represented in the consciousness by an idea, or image, or representation, it may be so repressed 'that no trace of it is found, or it appears as an affect [...] or it is changed into anxiety'[17] So the affect appears, without a cause for it being apparent.

For Freud, 'the true aim of repression' is to inhibit the expression of affect, because repression wants to avoid 'unpleasure'.[18] So, 'where repression has succeeded in inhibiting the development of affects, we term those affects (which we

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[15] Sigmund Freud, 'The Unconscious', in Sigmund Freud, *Standard Edition*, ed. and trans. by James Strachey and others, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1953–74) (hereafter *SE*), XIV, 177.

[16] Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (Seminar 11), trans. by Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 161–86.

[17] Freud, 'Repression', *SE*, XIV, 153. See also 'The Unconscious', *SE*, XIV, 178.

[18] Freud, 'Repression', *SE*, XIV, 153. See Teresa Brennan, *The Interpretation of the Flesh: Freud and Femininity* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 124–26.

restore when we undo the work of repression) "unconscious"' (*SE*, XIV, 178). So there are unconscious affects (the title of the section is 'Unconscious Emotions'), affects which cannot be assigned a meaning. If this sounds difficult, it makes more sense as explained in the case of obsessional neurosis where Freud explained the point to his patient (the 'Rat' Man), who felt the affect of guilt:

> Where there is a *misalliance*, I began, between an affect and its ideational content (in this case, between the intensity of the [patient's] self-reproach and the occasion for it), a layman will say that the affect is too great for the occasion — that it is exaggerated—and that consequently the inference following from the self-reproach (the inference that the patient is a criminal) is false. On the contrary, the physician says: 'No. The affect is justified. The sense of guilt is not in itself open to further criticism. But it belongs to some other content, which is unknown (*unconscious*), and which requires to be looked for. The known ideational content has only got into its actual position owing to a false connection. We are not used to feeling strong affects without their having any ideational content, and therefore, if the content is missing, we seize as a substitute upon some other content which is in some way or other suitable, much as our police, when they cannot catch the right murderer, arrest a wrong one instead. (*SE*, X, 175–76)

The guilt relates to something unknown, and that is what Freud means when he thinks of unconscious affects.

An affect is both a form of psychic energy and a representation or discharge of that form, felt in the body. Later essays, such as 'The Ego and the Id' (1923), make clear that such a discharge must come from 'unpleasure':

> Sensations of a pleasurable nature have not anything inherently impelling about them, whereas unpleasurable ones have it in the highest degree. The latter impel towards change, towards discharge, and that is why we interpret unpleasure as implying a heightening, and pleasure a lowering, of energic cathexis.[19]

Anxiety becomes more crucial with 'Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety' (1926).[20] Whereas before, Freud saw anxiety resulting from the blocking of the drive, he now adds a distinction between anxiety as a reaction to a trauma and as a signal from the ego of the danger of a trauma's approach. Anxiety becomes a property of the ego and leads to repression (not, now, the other way round). Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1916–17) makes the 'nucleus' of an affect 'the repetition of some particular significant experience' (*SE*, XVI, 396). It would not be going too far to say that Freud virtually identifies an affect with

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[19] Freud, 'The Ego and the Id', *SE*, XIX, 22; cf. 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', *SE*, XIX, 8.

[20] See André Green, *The Fabric of Affect in the Psychoanalytic Discourse*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 13–72.

anxiety. The point recalls how Rank thinks that an affect has to do with a sense of separation, being solitary. Affects repeat themselves, because an affect exists as a representation of something else, which is not known, not as the thing in itself. Elsewhere, the affect is 'only' 'a reminiscence of an event'.[21] It is not far from there to the point that 'hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences', a key point of *Studies in Hysteria* (*SE*, II, 7), and confirming the negativity of affect that prevails in Freud. An affect works through anxiety, is outside the control of self-consciousness, and is not a mode of knowing the world.

But this area of thought has been contested in later psychoanalysis, as by Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen who argues that if an affect cannot be repressed, then it becomes inseparable from the drive itself, and therefore from the unconscious. Using the work of Michel Henry (1922–2002), who himself uses Nietzsche, in *La Génealogie de la psychanalyse* (1985), Borch-Jacobsen calls the drive 'that constant excitation from which the psyche can never escape'.[22] There is no distinction 'between the drive (or the quantity of excitation) and the affect supposed to represent it' — the distinction being only valid for the *Vorstellung*. The drives are 'a name for the pure and spontaneous *auto*affection of the "interior life"' (p. 140). The drive is both a passion (something suffered) and a drive. 'Life is a passion, but [...] only because it suffers *itself*, suffering being nothing other than the pleat of enjoyment *of* self' (p. 140). In such a way, with the impossibility of seeing the affects as unconscious, Henry and Borch-Jacobsen deconstruct the opposition of consciousness and unconsciousness. Borch-Jacobsen speaks of the immediacy of the affect, its acting-out, as 'a thought that is all the more active as it is more passive, pure passion-of-the-present that never has the time to think, to which is never accorded the time for reflection' (p. 145).

There is a tension in Freud between conscious affects and unconscious feelings, which Borch-Jacobsen comments on, drawing attention to the discussion in 'The Ego and the Id' of a feeling of unconscious guilt which drives the patient into illness (here, the person does not feel guilt, but exhibits punitive or restitutive behaviour): 'But as far as the patient [the one suffering: note the link with *passion*] is concerned, this sense of guilt is dumb; it does not tell him he is guilty; he does not feel guilty, he feels ill. This sense of guilt expresses itself only

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[21] See the discussion in the introduction to 'Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety' (1959), *SE*, XIX, 7–86.

[22] Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, *The Emotional Tie: Psychoanalysis, Mimesis, and Affect* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 139.

as a resistance to recovery which it is extremely hard to overcome' (p. 147, quoting 'The Ego and the Id', *SE*, XIX, 50).

> This example shows it sufficiently: there is here, in the subject (in the affect), something that goes beyond the subject (that goes beyond his autoaffection). The affect is not experienced by the subject—it is not experienced by anyone—and yet it acts, it exercises its cruel effects. . . . The patient suffers his passion, and he suffers it 'beyond the pleasure principle', beyond all enjoyment of self, to the point of no longer being able to bear himself.

Here, Borch-Jacobsen quotes Freud again, on the 'demonic' character of the compulsion to repeat: 'The subject appears to have a passive experience, over which he has no influence, but in which he meets with a repetition of the same fatality' (p. 148, quoting 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', *SE*, XVIII, 22). Borch-Jacobsen finds this passage, which shows how the affect acts through an involuntary repetition, to illustrate 'the radical non-self-presence of the subject, the "demonic" alteration of his consciousness, his visitation by the all-other' (p. 148), and he says that the task is to ask 'what the singular alterity is that haunts the affect'; this which is '"spontaneous" in its very passivity', and which includes in itself 'the stranger', that which Freud calls 'the demonic' (p. 149).

Using Nietzsche with Freud gives the sense of affect as that not part of the autonomous self; indeed, it shows up such 'autonomy' to be fictitious. The self is neither self-contained, nor is it possible to say what is inside, or outside its borders. An 'emotion' gives the sense that as subject I produce conscious feelings, and for that reason, it is the word that is least useful, though it is not possible to drop it altogether, and it appears in the chapters that follow. A passion, which is also an affection and an infection, gives the sense that I have been overcome by something from the outside (unless I have infected myself). An affect comes from, perhaps is, a drive that is met with in the subject by repression, which means that it is not clear what the condition is, how it may be described. It implies something 'other', even something 'demonic', within the person, capable of both pain and pleasure. Freud speaks of 'ambivalence', which was then a virtual neologism. It means with him that the drives oscillate between activity and passivity, sadism and masochism, and masculinity and femininity, so destabilizing the subject so that 'emotional conflict is a fluctuation of the unitary commanding-faculty, which is capable of changing so quickly that it gives the misleading impression of being divided into two distinct powers'.[23] It is this sense of mood, or affect, as that which

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[23] A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, I: *Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987),

is never single, and always accompanied by something else, and which is the very atmosphere in which the subject finds himself or herself, that I will compare with Dante.

There are differences: in Dante emotions have been isolated, put into the personification-form which allows them to be seen as separate discrete entities. By being named, as pride, envy, anger, sloth (melancholia), avarice, gluttony, and lust, they have already been, partially, tamed. Dante worked with a schema of vices which had, for example in Prudentius, been put into the literary form of personifications. So what does an allegory name, and what is the relation between an allegorical literary form and an affective state? Here, the meaning of 'allegory' as 'speaking other' is worth recalling, because using allegory implies a recognition that we are dealing with the sphere of the other, with what cannot be known directly, as affects cannot. Anger, for instance, as the name for what is alien, other, is also part of personification-allegory. Affects are allegories as unnameable, inside the self, and outside. Angus Fletcher, thinking of Prudentius, and how these named states are corrupting, says that 'contagion is the primary symbol of Christian allegory'. Allegorical figures are staining; they are figures of infection (Fletcher links these words).[24] Allegory as other, alien, creates an infectious state of affect which links with what Borch-Jakobsen calls 'auto-affection', or what might be called 'auto-infection'. Allegory is both the only means to understand an affect, and at the same time, the language which creates the affect.

To trace this through, I start in the next chapter with how the self has been defined as emotional, having recognizable feelings, and how both philosophy and early Christianity reacted to that, before we reach Dante and his sense of desire, expressed in such single yet allegorical states.

p. 422, discussing Chrysippus (280–206 BCE). See the selection of Stoic texts on passion, and commentary, pp. 410–23. See Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', *SE*, XIV, 131, for 'ambivalence'.

[24] Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), pp. 199–200.

Seven Capital Vices

I n Plato (*Republic*, Book IV, 439c–e), the soul has both logos (*logistikon*: an intellectual principle), that which calculates morally the consequences of an action, and something else, the concupiscible, the appetitive (*epithumetikon*), which desires pleasure. A third, passionate part, the irascible, which the Penguin edition of the *Republic* translates as 'indignation', and the Loeb calls 'high spirit', is the *thumos*, the power of noble wrath, necessary for combatting injustice. The *thumos* takes the part of the reason as an emotion rebuking lower appetites. This work of the *thumos* is demonstrated in the *Republic*, in the story of Leontius, observing corpses lying by the public executioner:

> He wanted to go and look at them, and yet at the same time held himself back in disgust. For a time he struggled with himself and averted his eyes, but in the end his desire got the better of him and he ran up to the corpses, opening his eyes wide and saying to them, 'There you are, curse you — a lovely sight! Have a real good look!'[1]

Indignation, part of the *thumos*, would not side with the desires once reason had decided a course was wrong, and that the eyes' impulse to look is disgusting. Plato and Aristotle both find anger more acceptable than the Stoics. The word *thumos* has been related to the English 'fume'; that may be recalled when Dante portrays anger as existing on a cornice filled with smoke.[2] Whereas *boulêsis*, as an

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[1] Plato, *Republic*, trans. by H. D. P. Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), 439e–440b, pp. 191–92, and see Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation: The Gifford Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 305–08.

[2] John M. Cooper, *Reason and Emotion: Essays on Ancient Moral Psychology and Ethical Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) p. 130. See also John M. Cooper, 'An Aristotelian Theory of the Emotions', in *Essays on Aristotle's 'Rhetoric'*, ed. by Amélie O. Rorty (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996) pp. 406–23.

activity of the intellectual part of the soul, is a rational desire for the good, and cannot wish what is bad, or what is neither good nor bad, appetitive desire (*epithumia*) is directed at pleasure, and Plato argues that no one desires evil.[3] In the *Phaedrus* (246A–247C), the soul is tripartite: the chariot has reason (*logistikon*) as the driver, while it is drawn by two horses, one spirited or passionate (*thumoeides*), one appetitive (*epithumetikon*): the irascible and the concupiscible. This model, as later in Aristotle, presumes a divided soul.

Aristotle

Aristotle's *De anima*, II. 3, discusses desire as *orexis*, Aristotle's word for movements of the soul away from, or towards, action, desire being coupled with action. Desire is *boulēsis* when it is in the rational part of the soul and is for an object that is presented by the power of reason. There is also *thumos* (passion), which desires honour, and *epithumia* (appetite or sensual appetite) as aspects of the irrational part.[4] Of these three forms of desire, the latter two are *pathê*, passions, and

> the object of desire produces movement, and because of this, thought produces movement, because the object of desire is its starting-point. And when the imagination produces movement it does not do so without desire. Thus there is one thing which produces movement, the faculty of desire. [...] The intellect does not appear to produce movement without desire (for wishing is a form of desire, and when one is moved in accordance with reasoning, one is moved in accordance with one's wish too), and desire produces movement even contrary to reasoning, for wanting is a form of desire. (III. 10. 433a17–25)

To get from desire to an emotion requires a belief. A *pathê* (pathos) comes from a desire, a *hormê*, an impulse, a movement in the soul towards action, or away from it, and in which the judgement agrees. The soul agrees that the thing in question is inherently good. This differs from the Stoics' assertion, that

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[3] See Plato, *Gorgias*, trans. by Walter Hamilton and Chris Emlyn-Jones (London: Penguin, 2004), 468B–D, for the first point, and *Meno*, trans. by Walter Hamilton and Chris Emlyn-Jones (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 77E–78B, for the second.

[4] Aristotle, *De anima*, trans. by D. W. Hamlyn, with additions by Christopher Shields (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), II. 3. 413b16, 414a32; III. 9. 432a22. For the *thumos*, see Juha Shivola, 'Aristotle on Sex and Love', in *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. by Martha Nussbaum and Juha Shivola (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 200–21.

Only one's inner state [...] is either a good or a bad thing for any human being. Accordingly, [...] anyone who puts reason in control of his life [...] will have eventually to repudiate [...] *all* the judgements about value that get affirmed in the experience of any *pathos* [...] and by decisively repudiating those value-judgements one ceases to feel the passion too — in the absence of the thought that anything good or bad is present [...] there is nothing to feel strongly about.[5]

Aristotle treats affectual states particularly twice: *Nicomachean Ethics*, II.5, and *Rhetoric*, which at II.1.8 (1378a20–23) calls emotions 'all those affections which cause men to change their opinion in regard to their judgements, and are accompanied by pleasure (*hêdonê*) and pain (*lupê*); such are anger, pity, fear, and all similar emotions and their contraries'.[6] The *Nicomachean Ethics* (1105b21) makes desire (*epithumia*) as an emotion: perhaps *thumos* is an emotion (*pathê*). But desire does not appear in the *Rhetoric*'s list of emotions: anger, mildness, love (friendliness) and hate, fear, confidence in the face of danger, shame (the feeling of being disgraced, and which is defined as a pain, 1383b15), kindly feelings, pity, righteous indignation, envy, and the feeling of eagerness to match the accomplishments of others. More briefly, Aristotle discusses rejoicing at the destruction of someone's good fortune, and feeling disdainful, and feeling pleasure at the punishment of someone deserving it.

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[5] Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, p. 248.

[6] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Henry Rackham (London: Heinemann, 1928); Aristotle, *The 'Art' of Rhetoric*, trans. by John Henry Freese, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 173. Yet this paraphrases: there is no word which 'affections' translates, hence, literally: 'The emotions are all the things on account of which men change and differ in relation to their judgments, things (the emotions) which pain and pleasure accompany, e.g. anger, pity, fear and all the things that are similar and the things that are the opposite of these.' Amélie O. Rorty, '*Akrasia* and Pleasure: *Nicomachean Ethics* Book 7', in *Essays on Aristotle's Ethics*, ed. by Rorty, discusses problems in translating *pathos*: 'Since *passion* has come to be thought of as a turbulent and even troubled emotional condition, it is a poor translation [...] *passivity* suggests complete inertness; but even though *pathe* are not, in the strict sense, motives (because they are not determined by a person's aims and desires), a person can act from *pathe*. The condition can be the beginning of an action. Insofar as *affection* suggests being *affected by*, it provides a better rendering; but [...] in ordinary discourse, *affection* is much narrower than *pathos*. *Feeling* misleadingly suggests a subjective condition, the subject of introspection. But unnoticed bruises and scratches can be *pathe*. *Emotion* is [...] too narrow. *Modification* correctly suggests that some normal condition is changed by an external event or object. But it is too broad, and is, in any case, too awkward. *Reaction* is helpful; it is paired with *action*, as *pathos* is paired with *praxis*; and it can refer both to a person's condition in being affected and to the beginning of action or motion that can follow from that state' (pp. 283–84, emphases in original).

For Martha Nussbaum, Aristotle distinguishes emotion (*pathos*), from appetite (*epithumia*): hunger, thirst, sexual desire, and desire for warmth and shelter. Unlike the former, the latter are not amenable to reason: an appetite is not an emotion, for cognition cannot be dissociated from emotion. Yet *epithumia* also appears in relation to emotion, for, discussing anger (*orgê*), Aristotle uses that word to mean desire, alongside *boulēsis* (rational desire) and *epithumia*.[7] Anger as a desire is distressful, agitated. Cooper, on this basis, concludes that anger in Aristotle, which is an emotion *meta lupēs* (with sorrow), is:

> (1) an especially agitated and distressful instance of *thumos*-desire, (2) aroused by and directed specifically at what strikes the angry person as having been inappropriate and unjustified belittlement of himself or someone close to him, (3) aiming at inflicting a compensating pain on the belittler [...]. Thus in his account of anger Aristotle combines three distinct elements that are indeed found elsewhere [...] but nowhere else so clearly integrated: the angry person is in an agitated state of mind, caused by the way certain events or circumstances have struck him [...] which is at the same time a desire directed at responding in a well-motivated way to those events.[8]

This combination of an affected state of mind, coming from a sense of how things strike the person, plus a desire for reactive behaviour seems basic for how Aristotle sees an emotion.

Stoicism

Book VII of the *Nicomachean Ethics* discusses *akrasia*, usually translated as 'weakness of the will', but since Aristotle seems to have little concept of the will, 'lack of restraint or of control' may be better. Aristotle says Socrates neglected the significance of *akrasia* when thinking it would be strange if, when a man possessed knowledge, some *epithumia* could overpower it and 'drag it about like a slave' (quoting *Protagoras*, 352b). For Socrates, 'there is no such thing as Unrestraint *(akrasia)*, since no-one [...] acts contrary to what is best, believing that which

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[7] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, III. 10. 1118a23–25. Martha Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 114. See Nussbaum, 'Aristotle on Emotions and Ethical Health', in *Therapy of Desire*, pp. 78–101, and Stephen R. Leighton, 'Aristotle and the Emotions', *Phronesis*, 27 (1982), 144–74, saying that Plato hardly distinguished between emotion and desire (p. 169). See also William Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion: A Contribution to Philosophical Psychology, Rhetoric, Poetics, Politics and Ethics* (London: Duckworth, 1975).

[8] Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, p. 421.

he does to be bad, but only through ignorance' (VII. 2. 1145b22–27). This view creates a position where, in Aristotle and Hellenistic philosophy, emotions are cognitive states.

Stoicism, according to Cicero, emphasized a view, attributed to Socrates, that:

> all unwise persons are in an 'unsound' [*non sanos*] state. For the soul [*animus*] which is suffering from some disease [...] is no more in a sound condition than the body which is diseased. It follows that wisdom is a sound condition of soul, unwisdom on the other hand a sort of unhealthiness which is unsoundness and also aberration of mind.[9]

Aristotle's 'pain', which accompanies an emotion (*pathos*), includes feelings of distress, and 'pleasure', mental excitement: these terms, persisting through Stoic accounts of the emotions, indicate 'the character of the emotions as psychic disturbances in which we are set psychically in movement, made to experience some strong affect'.[10] Stoicism, in Zeno of Citium (Cyprus) (b. *c.* 334), Cleanthes (331–232 BCE), and Chrysippus of Soli (*c.* 280–206 BCE), and Posidonius (*c.* 135–*c.* 51 BCE), considered four cardinal passions or emotions: desire (*epithumia*), fear (*phobos*), pleasure (*hêdonê*), and pain or distress (*lupê*).[11] Desire and fear as *pathe*, were directed towards the future — an apparent, illusory future — pleasure and pain as *pathe*, towards the present. Desire was the incorrect form of the impulse to acquire the good, fear an incorrect form of the impulse to avoid the bad. The overall division persists, since, in the Stoic Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, IV. 2, metre, Philosophy sings of tyrant-kings bound by the 'galling chains' of the passions: these tyrannical allegorized passions are *libido*, *ira*, sorrow (*maeor*) or 'sliding' hope (*spes*).[12] Grief which exhausts is central to Boethius's text, and the rationale for the 'consolation' of Philosophy. For Boethius, anger, once part of *epithumia*, and which, for the Stoics, was never an expression of frustration, as it might be today, but a reaction to an injustice or an injury, and

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[9] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. by J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1971), III. 5, p. 235.

[10] Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, p. 416.

[11] Sorabji, *Emotion*, p. 29, gives as a main text Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV. 11–22, and Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, VII. 110–14. He says that two emotions are directed to the present, distress and pleasure, two to the future, fear and appetite. Two involve goods, two ills. See Sorabji, *Emotion*, p. 136.

[12] Boethius, *The Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1918), pp. 314–15.

which was criticized by Cicero and Seneca, has become a power in itself.[13] The negative place given to Hope, which has the adjective *lubrica* attached to it, making it slippery, like Fortune, must be compared with the place given to it as a theological virtue.[14]

For Brad Inwood, Stoicism makes pleasure and pain impulses — excessive and irrational *hormai* — directed at certain changes in the *pneuma* (the state of reason) of the soul, bringing about contraction and expansion.[15] The Stoics conceptualized a unitary soul, unlike Plato or Aristotle, making the passions the product of a soul where rationality was inadequately developed. If it accepts the stimulus to passion, reason becomes corrupt, a passion which is reason which has rejected right reason.[16]

Stoicism made virtue and knowledge almost interchangeable. Justice became knowledge of what was due; temperance knowledge of what to choose and what not, prudence knowledge of what to do or not do, courage knowledge of what should or should not be feared. Passions were rational because involving beliefs; irrational because the beliefs are misguided (since only virtue is desirable), and involving *akrasia*, when one judgement conflicts with a better. Christopher Gill summarizes the view of Chrysippus, 'the main systematizer of Stoic thought':

> In Stoic theory, the initial paradox to be confronted is the claim that passions are both 'rational' and 'irrational'. They are rational in that [...] they involve beliefs and reasoning [...]. It is only when someone 'assents' to a 'rational' (verbal) 'impression' that he or she has the impulse to action that constitutes an emotion[...]. The assent is to certain kinds of impression, those involving the thought 'that x is good or bad, and it is right to feel accordingly'. However, *pathe* are irrational, or contrary to right (normative) reason, in the sense that they involve assent to *false* beliefs about what is good or bad and about how it

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[13] See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV. 36. 77–78, pp. 415–17. See John M. Cooper and J. F. Procopé's introduction to their translation of Seneca's *Of Anger* in *Seneca: Moral and Political Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 3–16.

[14] See Gerard O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 94–103. O'Daly insists on the specificity of the passions described here to the text.

[15] Brad Inwood, *Ethics and Human Action in Early Stoicism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 144–45.

[16] Brad Inwood, 'Seneca and Psychological Dualism', in *Passions and Perceptions: Studies in Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind: Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium Hellenisticum*, ed. by Jacques Brunschwig and Martha C. Nussbaum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 150–83 (p. 170). See also J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

is right to react. They are also irrational and 'unnatural' in the different (though related) sense that they are intense psychophysical reactions which disrupt normal human functioning.[17]

Aristotle sees virtue as attaining the mean in emotions or actions; so finding the ethically correct emotion for the situation (*Nicomachean Ethics*, II. 6. 1106b16–28). To correct one extreme, it may be necessary to aim towards the opposite extreme (*Ethics*, II. 9. 1109b1–7, b24–26). Later development of that thought, responding to Stoicism, and in the absence of Aristotle's texts, thought of virtue as setting a proper limit to emotion, so that there may be 'moderate emotion'.[18] Martha Nussbaum's *The Therapy of Desire*, insisting on the rationality of emotions, discusses the Hellenistic ethics which revised Aristotle. She critiques philosophy when it is not, as with Aristotle, rational argument, but aimed at producing a control over the self. She elevates therapy obtained through the power of reason against what she sees as philosophy as a set of techniques for the self to fashion itself, the latest example of that being in Michel Foucault, in *The Care of the Self* .[19] While for Foucault 'reason [is] itself just one among the many masks assumed by political power', for the Stoic, 'reason stands apart, resisting all domination' (p. 354), including emotional domination. Nussbaum's contrasting ideal is the toughness of Aristotelian dialectical argument, as opposed to Epicurus (341–271 BCE), for whom philosophy was a way of calming desire, producing passivity (p. 139). She similarly criticizes the Sceptics promoting *ataraxia*, freedom from disturbance (pp. 285–315).

Using Epicurean philosophers, Philodemus, in *On Anger*, and Lucretius (first century BCE), Nussbaum discusses Epicureans and Stoics on anger, as a paradigm emotion, finding 'evidence of an immense interest in this passion in both the

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[17] Christopher Gill, 'The Emotions in Greco-Roman Philosophy', in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, ed. by Susanna Morton Braund and Christopher Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 8–9. Compare Alessandro Schiesaro, 'Passion, Reason and Knowledge in Seneca', ibid., pp. 89–111: 'Passions consist not in being moved as a result of impressions of things, but in surrendering oneself to them' (Seneca, *De Ira*, II. 3. 1; quoted, p. 105). Also, Joan Booth, 'All in the Mind: Sickness in Catullus 76', ibid., pp. 150–68 (p. 160). For Chrysippus, see Teun Tieleman, *Chrysippus' 'On Affections': Reconstruction and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); see pp. 15–16 on translating *pathos* by 'affection'. Tieleman says that *Tusculan Disputations*, IV. 11–33, summarizes Chyrisippus: see pp. 288–320.

[18] Gill, 'Emotions', pp. 6–7, and in Gill, 'Passion as Madness in Roman Poetry', in *Passions*, ed. by Braund and Gill, pp. 213–41 (pp. 231–32).

[19] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, III: *The Care of the Self*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1988), p. 5.

Greek and Roman worlds' (p. 243) and saying that there are no equivalent tax-onomies in these worlds for either fear or love. She recalls Aristotle characterizing anger as the belief that one has been wronged and that retaliation was a good thing (p. 243). In contrast, the Stoic thinks of the wise person as free from passion (*apathês*), that is, taking the words of Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE), as 'free […] from all vulnerability and passivity towards the world'.[20] Nor does the Stoic regard the passions as important as the Aristotelian thinks in motivating virtuous action, and experiencing them is painful. And the passions tend towards ungovernable excess (quoting Chrysippus p. 396). Nor can an emotion stabilize itself without its opposite entering. Stoics 'cannot love without being liable to hate and anger'; they can tell the Aristotelians that 'they cannot have forms of evaluation and action that they cherish, without committing themselves to what they themselves abhor' (p. 398). For Stoicism, everything is 'indifferent' in comparison to the task of 'living in accordance with nature'. Extirpating the passions is the theme of Cicero, Seneca, and in Christianity, Lactantius, as part of Stoicism's 'tireless insistence on perfect health' (p. 481).

Nussbaum quotes Seneca personifying anger 'as an alien being, no part of what it is to be human':

> Whether or not it is according to nature will be evident, if we examine the human being. What is gentler than the human being, when he is in a right state of mind? But what is more cruel than anger? What is more loving to others than the human being? What is more hostile than anger? The human being is born for mutual aid, anger for destruction; the one wants to join together; the other to rend asunder; the one to help, the other to harm, the one to come to the aid even of strangers, the other to attack even those nearest and dearest; the one is ready to spend himself for the well-being of others, the other to plunge into danger, so long as it can drag others along.[21]

For the Stoic, 'aggression grows not inside our nature, but out of an interaction between nature and conditions that is likely to be universal, unless and until philosophical education removes the darkness from human thought' (p. 421). Life turns 'us' from our own humanity: if the wise man surrendered to anger, 'he must not be angry merely, he must go mad'.[22] We may contrast with the Stoic idea of

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[20] Seneca, *Moral Epistles (Ad Lucilium epistulae morales)*, IX. 2–4, trans. by Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, p. 390.

[21] Seneca, *On Anger*, I. 5. 2, trans. by Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, p. 412 (see also Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. by John W. Basore, 3 vols (London: Heinemann, 1928), I, 119).

[22] Seneca, *On Anger*, II. 9; trans. by Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire*, p. 422 (see also trans. by Basore, I, 285).

living in accordance with nature Nietzsche's sense of 'Nature'. He takes the demand to live above passion as 'self-tyranny', as asceticism, hatred of passional states, which in turn imposes on others, as well as on nature.[23]

Will Power

Aristotle's *boulêsis*, rational desire, is often translated as 'will'. For Aristotle, Plato does not distinguish enough between reason and rational desire. But Plato has also been read as seeing the *thumos* as the place of the will (and as allied with reason). Aristotle develops a concept of the will through *proairesis*, a 'deliberated desire', one based on reasoning what means would secure the ends sought after. Both *boulêsis* and *proairesis* were translated into Latin as *voluntas*, as 'will'. Stoicism becomes the philosophy of the will, so that anger, for instance, involves an act of willing that we should be avenged.[24] Here, will is a cognition; as an impulse (*hormê*) is assent to a proposition: an impulse is reason commanding action.

According to Richard Sorabji, *libera voluntas* appears first in Lucretius and in Cicero.[25] Tertullian (*c.* 160–220), who was influenced by Stoicism, speaks of 'free power of choice', but the phrase 'free choice of the will' is classically associated with Augustine (354–430) in *De libero arbitrio voluntatis* (On Free Choice of the Will); Augustine being seminal for a study of the self as marked by confession, and responsible, because people act as a result of their will. Sorabji discusses Plotinus (*c.* 205–70), on the subject of pride and will as the beginning of evil, and Plotinus influenced Augustine. In Plotinus's *Enneads*, sin begins as a desire for a separate existence:

> For souls that turn away, break loose and become ignorant of the Father the beginning of the evil is pride (*tolma*) and willing (*boulêthenai*) to belong to themselves alone. A desire for autonomy is repeated at the level of intellect 'where it becomes multiple by willing (*thelein*) to possess everything. There is a restless nature originally at rest in eternity, which, however, wills (*boulesthai*) to seek more than the (timeless) present. This results in the creation of time out of timeless eternity.[26]

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[23] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. by Walter Kaufmann (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), pp. 205–06.

[24] Seneca, *On Anger*, II. 4. 1, trans. by Basore, I, 175.

[25] Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (On the Nature of Things), II. 251–93, and in Cicero, *On Fate*, IX. 20: see Sorabji, *Emotion*, pp. 320, 333–34.

[26] Sorabji, *Emotion*, pp. 319–40, for the will; p. 334 for quotation; see also Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, p. 188.

Plotinus was edited by his pupil Porphyry (*c.* 232–304), who wrote against Christianity. Plotinus's thesis, via Porphyry, is alluded to in *City of God* (X. 23, which refers to the *Enneads*, V. 1. 1). Augustine links the will to the rational soul, and to mind and intelligence (*City of God*, V. 11), while developing an account of the will as that which can be perverted.[27]

In Augustine, emotions are acts of will (*City of God*, XIV. 6), and where faulty, they are faults of the soul, not of the flesh (*City of God*, XIV. 2, 3). He distances himself from a Platonist sense that the fault lies in the body; it lies rather in the will, even if it is trapped:

> [T]he enemy held my will in his power and from it he had made a chain and shackled me. For my will was perverse and lust had grown from it, and when I gave in to lust habit was born, and when I did not resist the habit it became a necessity.[28]

Nietzsche's antagonism to free will may be compared with this: 'men were thought of as 'free' so that they could become *guilty*: consequently every action *had* to be thought of as willed, the origin of every action as lying in the consciousness'.[29]

The exception to these emotions, in Augustine, is lust, which exceptionally, bypasses the will, and works without control (*City of God*, XIV. 19). Modesty dictates the covering of the sexual parts:

> Modesty does not conceal the acts of anger and the words and deeds associated with the other passions in the same way as it conceals the acts of lust, which are performed by the sexual organs. But is this not simply because in the case of the other passions, the body's members are not set in motion by the passions themselves, but by the will, after it has consented to the passions? For the will has mastery over the use of such members. For no one who utters a word in anger, or, indeed, strikes another, could do so if his tongue or hand were not in someway set in motion by the command of his will; and those members are set in motion by the same will even where there is no anger. But the sexual organs have somehow fallen so completely under the sway of lust that they have no power of movement at all if this passion is absent, and unless it has either risen of its own accord, or been aroused by another. It is this that makes us ashamed; it is this causes us to avoid the eye of onlookers, blushing. A man would rather be watched by a crowd of spectators

[27] See Alfred L. Kellogg, 'An Augustinian Interpretation of Chaucer's Pardoner', *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 465–81, and John M. Bowers, *The Crisis of Will in 'Piers Plowman'* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1986), pp. 41–60.

[28] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), VIII. 5, p. 164.

[29] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, trans. by R. J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 53.

as he vents his anger unjustly upon another than by one man as he has lawful intercourse with his wife.[30]

Augustine outdoes Stoicism, by making sexual desire worse than other emotions. Sorabji concludes *Emotion and Peace of Mind* with the sense of the historical importance of Augustine's negativity about the sexual, the subject of *City of God* XIV. 16, where orgasm extinguishes the 'vigilance of a man's mind', and lust, equally perversely, divides the subject in that it 'arouses the mind, but does not follow its own lead by arousing the body' (pp. 614–15). Lust is, therefore, 'not seldom divided against itself'. Sexuality becomes a problem illustrating deep psychic splits, concupiscence becoming everybody's permanent problem. Peter Brown summarizes: Augustine 'placed sexuality irremovably at the centre of the human person [.... It] was held inflexibly in the grip of his notion of a human race condemned, by the justice of God, to endure in their bodies and their minds, the permanent presence of a *poena reciproca* — an exquisitely apposite and permanent symptom of Adam's fall'.[31] Sexuality became a punishment to fit the crime. Adam and Eve resisted the will of God; parts of them resisted their conscious will.[32]

Sorabji passses from discussing Stoicism with its distinction between the first movements (*propatheia*) towards emotion, but which are not the emotion, since they are non-voluntary, not controllable by reason, and entertaining the emotion.[33] The latter presupposes an act of the will. Origen (*c.* 185–250) held this view, distinguishing between spontaneous movements and passions over which an agent could exercise some authority. Here, the pattern was Seneca on anger:

> There can be no doubt that anger is caused by the direct impression of an injury; but the question is whether it follows immediately upon the impression and springs up without assistance from the mind, or whether it is aroused only with the assent of the mind. Our opinion is that it ventures nothing by itself, but acts only with the approval of the mind. For to form the impression of having received an injury and to long to avenge it, and then to couple together the two impressions that one ought not to have been wronged and that one ought to be avenged — this is not a mere impulse of the mind acting without our volition. The one is a single mental process, the other a complex one composed of several

[30] Augustine, *City of God*, trans. by R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 618–19.

[31] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (London: Faber, 1989), p. 422.

[32] Brown, *Body and Society*, p. 416.

[33] Sorabji, *Emotion*, pp. 66–69.

elements; the mind has grasped something, has become indignant, has condemned the act, and now tries to avenge it. Those processes are impossible unless the mind has given assent to the impressions that moved it. (*On Anger*, II. 1. 3–5, trans. by Basore, I, 167–69)

Seneca makes an emotion the result of a judgement.[34] However, the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (before 215 CE), and Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 150–215), and, outstandingly, Augustine were not sure that these 'pre-passions' were not emotions.[35] *City of God* refers to *pathe*: 'some of our writers, such as Cicero, call them disturbances [referring to *Tusculan Disputations*, IV. 6. 11], others call them affections or affects, and others again, like Apuleius, call them passions, which expresses the Greek word more closely' (*City of God*, IX. 4, pp. 361–62). Augustine dissociates himself from Seneca's distinction: the mind is master of all disturbances. Except the sexual; but Augustine thinks that the sexual may be shut off from other passions, as opposed to — in Freud — being the drive at the heart of them all.

Cardinal Vices

Before Augustine, this interrogation of what was a true passion had been evident in the Desert Father Anthony (*c.* 251–356), at the time of the founding of monasticism in Egypt (by Pachomius, *c.* 290–346).[36] It was also the subject of Evagrius of Pontus (*c.* 345–99), and Nilus († 430), follower of John Chrysostom (*c.* 350–407).[37] After preaching in Constantinople, Evagrius became, for his last sixteen years, a cenobite in the Nitrian desert, south of Alexandria. Like Clement and Origen, whom he followed, he believed in the possibility of *apatheia*, freedom from emotion, which he considered a Christlike state. For Evagrius, the existence of minds and bodies were a result of a fall away from the original creation of intellect (*nous*): Evagrius insisted that matter is not inherently evil. Hence there can always be a movement downwards, towards the level of animals, or, through

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[34] See Richard A. Layton, '*Propatheia*: Origen and Didymus on the Origin of the Passions', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 54 (2000), 262–82. Didymus the Blind was Origen's pupil.

[35] Sorabji, *Emotion*, pp. 382–83.

[36] See Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985).

[37] For Nilus's listings of sins, see *Patrologiae cursus completus [...] Series Graeca* [PG], ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), LXXIX, col. 1236A, and LXXIX, cols 1146–64, and LXXIX, cols 1139–44. Attributions of texts to Nilus and Evagrius are disputed.

ascetic discipline, towards *apatheia*, an angel-like state. This and his sense of a bodiless and genderless resurrection, resulted in Evagrius being included with Origen in a condemnation at the General Council of Constantinople (553).[38]

Evagrius discussed eight thoughts, or temptations (*logismoi*) assailing the soul. The ascetic hermit has withdrawn from material things, but remains to be assaulted by demonic attack on the thoughts. For Teresa Shaw, these are '*evil* thoughts inspired by demons, and [Evagrius] freely interchanges the terms "thoughts of" and "demon of" or "spirit of" a certain vice'.[39] The first of these vices, with their later, Latin, equivalents is gluttony (*gula*), then comes fornication (*luxuria*), avarice (*avaritia*), distress (*tristitia*), anger (*ira*), listless depression (*acedia*), vainglory (*vana gloria*), and pride (*superbia*). This order, following a Latin acronym, is GLATIAVS. Avarice comes after two thoughts attached to the body, while, as Richard Newhauser notes, 'sadness could be understood to follow from the frustration of desires, but it could also result from the action of wrath'.[40] Pseudo-Makarios, Evagrius's teacher, similarly produced a list of these thoughts, giving lust, avarice, vanity, pride, envy, and anger.

Cassian (*c.* 360–433/35) modified the order of the vices. Born in the Dobrudja (now Romania and Bulgaria, on the shores of the Black Sea), Cassian took the name John (Johannes) perhaps from John Chrystostom, before following Evagrius in Egypt. He set up monasteries in Provence, beginning at Lérins (Lerinum), just earlier than Benedict (480–550), who did the equivalent in Italy.[41] In his order of vices, sadness (Latin *tristitia*) was placed after wrath, making the order GLAITAVS — *gula*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *acedia*, *vana gloria*, and *superbia*. Here the sins have been connected.

Evagrius gave special place to three temptations: gluttony, avarice, and vanity, which were placed first, third, and seventh in the list. They correspond to the demons who tempted Christ in the desert; the first finding its fulfilment in the temptation of the stones being made into bread, the second applying to the

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[38] For differences between Origen and Evagrius Ponticus: Michael O'Laughlin, 'The Anthropology of Evagrius Ponticus and its Sources', in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and his Legacy*, ed. by Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), pp. 357–73; Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), pp. 198–219.

[39] Shaw, *Burden of the Flesh*, p. 144: for Evagrius, see pp. 144–60.

[40] Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), p. 182.

[41] See Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

promise of the kingdoms of the world and the third to the temptation to Christ
to throw himself off a pinnacle of the temple.[42] Other demons can make no
headway if the Christian is successful against these. Gluttony takes prime place
among the passions, while avarice was the root of all evils.[43] Evagrius had rejected
not only wealth but, as inferior, even matter itself, so that he recommends
possessionlessness, and *apatheia*, not emotions in moderation. His order of evil
thoughts, therefore, progresses away from the corporal. To Jerome (*c.* 340–420),
Evagrius seemed to teach that the Christian could become sinless, a view which
returned in the Pelagian 'heresy', which, as in John Chrysostom, defended free will
(especially against Gnostic systems, which contained fatalistic or necessitarian
views).[44] Pelagius (*c.* 360–420), who originated from Britain, arrived in Rome in
the 390s, before it was sacked (410). He asserted free will: men could live perfect
Christian lives.

Sorabji's discussion of Augustine closes by recording his dispute with the
Pelagian Julian, Bishop of Eclanum (southern Italy) between 416 and 418. Julian
had followed Pelagius, when his views were condemned in 418, and his view of the
sexual was that lust only required moderation. He criticized the views of Jerome.
His views are compared by Peter Brown to those of Aquinas.[45] Augustine stressed
fear of the passions by saying that the sin of Adam and Eve had shown itself
in them being ashamed, sexually, after the Fall. Sexuality was a penalty for
disobedience, what Augustine called 'a torture to the will',[46] entailing, indeed,
the suspension of the will. Julian responded to Augustine by denying the idea
of original sin, of sin being handed down from one generation to another.
Augustine's views exceeded Jerome's in their pessimism, and this sense of sin,
always retaining the power to assert itself in the form of the sexual, became

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[42] Evagrius, *De diversis malignis cogitationibus* (On Various Bad Thoughts), PG, LXXIX, col. 1200.

[43] Sorabji quotes Pseudo-Nilus (Evagrius), *On Eight Spirits of Wickedness* (PG, LXXIX, col. 1145A) for gluttony (PG, LXXIX, col.1152B) for avarice. Sorabji emphasizes the special place given to vanity, as desire for admiration from others, unlike pride. Less emphasis is placed on lust, but anger's danger, as an obstacle to praying is discussed (*Emotions*, pp. 361, 360, 379).

[44] See Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 21.

[45] Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 387. For Julian/Augustine, see John M. Rist, *Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 321–28.

[46] Quoted in Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, p. 388.

dominant. The need to purify the body gave an impetus to the condemnation of Origen's views on the spiritual nature of the resurrected body, as being beyond sexual difference. Jerome joined in this.[47] Though matter might not be inherently evil, John Chrysostom's *On Virginity* had said that there was no sexual intercourse in Eden prior to the Fall, making virginity a preferential state. The argument was continued in Jerome's treatise *Against Jovinian*, Jovinian being a monk who criticized fasting and chastity as denying the goodness of Creation. *Against Jovinian* argued that the dangers of eating were that this was the fuelling of lust: Jerome placed a 'relentless emphasis on the corporeal'.[48] Augustine continued this. The three demons that Evagrius discusses, gluttony, avarice, vanity, can be reformulated in Chrysostom's terms. The temptations of Christ (Matthew 4. 1–11; Luke 4. 1–13) could be seen as slavery to the stomach, producing actions which would be due to vainglory, and to dependency on the madness of riches.[49]

Cassian placed pride at the end of the 'thoughts' because it surfaces after conquering the other temptations. Its enemy is not a virtue, as with the other bad thoughts, but God. Notably, with neither Evagrius nor Cassian is there a place for envy, perhaps because there is no natural motivation either to *invidia* or *filargyria* (the Latin form of Greek *philargyria* 'love of silver'). Unlike gluttony and lust, neither relate to the needs of the body. Pride and avarice became twin sources of all other vices.[50]

Evagrius's eight *logismoi* were codified by Gregory (*c.* 540–604).[51] His teachings modified the Desert Fathers, fitting the ascetic rule within the structures of religious and secular life. Gregory goes further than Augustine, blaming the will: now, sin had to do with the movement out from the body to the external world.[52] He analysed, for monks, the Book of Job for its moral, or ethical, content. *Moralia in Job*, XXXI. 45, transposed eight bad thoughts into seven cardinal sins

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[47] On Jerome, see Peter Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 366–86.

[48] Shaw, *Burden of the Flesh*, p. 111.

[49] Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 168.

[50] See Ecclesiasticus 10. 13 and 1 Timothy 6. 10, and Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 16–49.

[51] On Gregory, see Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 133–47.

[52] Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 132–33.

(*principalia vitia*).[53] His order was VIITAGL: *inanis gloria*, *invidia*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *avaritia*, *ventris ingluvies*, *luxuria* (or SIITAGL, if Superbia is substituted for Vainglory). Pride was outside these seven, as the source of the others, and the order is framed in a descending scale of seriousness, with sins that imply individualism and lack of obedience being placed higher. He spoke of *acedia*, not *tristitia*, and added *invidia*, not included by Evagrius or Cassian. Pride became 'queen of vices' because when she 'has completely taken over a conquered heart, she gives it over right away to the seven principal vices as if to some of her generals, because, doubtless, there spring up from them burdensome hosts of vice'. Augustine had extended avarice, as a desire for anything, such as power. Agreeing, Gregory made avarice a subcategory of pride:

> For avarice is a desire not only for money but for high position; it is rightly called avarice when sublimity is sought beyond measure. For if snatching at honour does not pertain to avarice, then did Paul say in vain of the only begotten Son that he 'thought it not robbery to be equal with God' [Philippians 2. 6]. And it was in this that the devil drew our first parent to pride, exciting him to the avarice of high position.[54]

In Gregory, avarice is 'the last of the vices which act upon the sinner internally, not upon his flesh'.[55] According to Newhauser's discussion of the *avarus*, in Gregory's writing, avarice becomes a theatrical 'mania': after going through

> suggestion, delectation and consent, [the *avarus*] confirms himself in his vice by actively desiring the property of another. He turns time up-side-down generating a plan to fulfil his wishes: his days are spent in unproductive idleness, his nights are taken up with frenzied thought, and when he finally devises a subtle scheme to acquire the property he wants, he exults as if he were already in possession of it. The fact that, in reality, it does not yet belong to him can no longer hold back his fancy: he imagines ways to improve it, and, since its greater value will make it more attractive to others, he goes on to formulate already the arguments he will need later to defend his right of possession in a court of law.[56]

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[53] Gregory, *Moralia*, XLV. 87, and Job XXXIX. 25 (*Patrologia cursus completus [...] Latina* [PL], ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), LXXVI, cols 620–21). Note the similarity of Gregory's list to Horace, *Epistles*, I. 1. 33: *avaritia, laudis amor, invidius, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator*.

[54] Quoted in Donald Howard, *The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 45 (PL, LXXIX, col. 1392).

[55] Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 102, quoting Gregory (PL, LXXVI, cols 621–22): 'Sadness also leads to avarice, since when the disturbed heart has lost the benefit of joy within itself, it seeks to find consolation without, and it desires to get possession of external goods the more it has no happiness to which is might return internally. But after these there remain two carnal vices.'

[56] Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 104.

Tristitia appeared in II Corinthians 7. 10, where its two forms were distinguished, *tristitia* 'secundum Deum' and 'tristitia saeculi'. Bede linked the first with the text 'Beati qui lugent': 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted' — quoted in *Purgatorio*, XIX. 50, after the cornice of *acedia*.[57] Cassian said that the first form of *tristitia* was humble, obedient, patient and forbearing, the other impatient, full of rancour, ineffective and irrational (PL, XXXIX, cols 357–59). Isidore (*c.* 560–636), contemporary with Gregory, said that the first was 'temperata et rationabilis' and the second 'perturba' and 'irrationalibilis' (PL, LXXXIII, col. 96). The sorrow of the world which works death, this second kind of *tristitia*, was conceptualized by Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), as Despair. For him, of the four principal emotions, fear and joy produced prudence, joy and sorrow temperance, sorrow and love fortitude, fear and love justice, fear and sorrow despair.[58] In comparison, Aquinas made despair an irascible passion, saying that a passion acquired a moral quality only when linked to act. A human act was evil 'through lacking conformity in its due measure': this measure being determined by human reason and eternal law, God's reason:

> According to the Philosopher [*Ethics*, II. 3. 1. 7] it belongs to virtue to establish the mean in the passions. Now, the sorrow which, in the sensitive appetite of the penitent, arises from the displeasure of his will, is a passion; wherefore it should be moderated according to virtue, and if it be excessive, it is sinful, because it leads to despair, as the Apostle teaches.[59]

The order of sins established by Gregory puts *acedia*, the sin identifiable with melancholia, at the centre, replacing *tristitia*.

Isidore of Seville, using Gregory's list, kept Cassian's order: *gulae concupiscentia*, *fornicatio*, *avaritia*, *invidia*, *tristitia*, *ira*, *inanis gloria*, *superbia*. According to Morton Bloomfield, the order SIIAAGL, which is that used in *Purgatorio*, remained, but SALIGIA (*superbia*, *avaritia*, *luxuria*, *ira*, *gula*, *invidia*, *accidia*) appeared as a mnemonic in the thirteenth century, dominating later, in the Counter-Reformation. Bloomfield traces its first use to Henry of Susa (or Ostia) († 1271), pointing out its lack of distinction between carnal and spiritual sins.[60]

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[57] See Susan Snyder, 'The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12 (1965), 18–59.

[58] Snyder, 'The Left Hand of God', pp. 36–37; PL, LXXXIII, col. 673.

[59] *Summa theologica*, trans. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 2nd rev. edn, 22 vols (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1912–36) (hereafter *ST*), III. 84. 9 ad. 3.

[60] Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1952), p. 86.

Bloomfield also refers to the Franciscan Bonaventure (1217–74), who discussed why there were seven sins in his *Commentary* on Peter of Lombard's *Sentences*. Another analyst of the sins was Hugh of St Victor (1096–1141), an Augustinian canon in the Abbey of St Victor outside Paris, founded in 1108.[61] (Bonaventure and Hugh are in the heaven of the sun (*Para.*, XII. 133).) In twelfth-century Paris, canons, usually attached to a cathedral, worked within the secular city, and had an educational function, apparent in Hugh's narrative of a sequence within the vices:

> There are therefore seven capital or principal vices, and from these arose all evils. They are the fountains and dark abysses from which the rivers of Babylon go forth, and led forth into all the earth, diffuse their moisture of iniquity. Of these rivers the Psalmist in the person of the faithful people sang saying: 'By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion'. Of these same devastating vices, breaking the universal integrity of nature, and at the same time producing the seeds of all evils, we speak, as much as we believe to suffice to explain the present task. Therefore there are seven, and out of these, three despoil man; the fourth whips the despoiled one; the fifth ejects the whipped one; the sixth seduces the ejected one; the seventh subjects the seduced one to slavery.[62]

This rationale starts from belief in the authority of the number seven, and from the position of the human subject originally linked to God. The first three vices plunder man: 'pride removes God from him, envy distances him from his neighbour, wrath separates him from himself' — then '*tristitia* beats him, next avarice throws him out of himself to seek comfort in external matters, then gluttony seduces him by these allurements, and finally lust makes him a slave'.[63] The subject forced, after the state of *tristitia* to seek consolations outside God — is placed outside his own humanity.

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[61] For Hugh of St Victor, see Rebecca Moore, *Jews and Christians in the Life and Thought of Hugh of St Victor* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998). For new emphases on the Universe, on Nature, and on Man as the Microscosm, at St Victor and Chartres, see Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[62] Hugh of St Victor, *De quinque septenis seu septenariis* (On the Five Sevens or Septenaries) (PL, CLXXV, cols 405–14); quoted in Ford Lewis Battles, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor as a Moral Allegorist', *Church History*, 18 (1949), 220–40.

[63] Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 120.

Penitentialism

Though Catholic theology calls them seven capital sins, they are not mortal sins leading to damnation, but tendencies. Evil thoughts which stirred up the passions (Evagrius), were, in Latin, 'vices', as with Cassian.[64] They were to be countered, for Hugh of St Victor, in *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*,[65] by the seven petitions of the Lord's prayer, and by the seven virtues which are the 'gifts of the Holy Spirit' (Isaiah 11. 2), from a passage taken as prophesying the Incarnation. This produced seven pairings: Timor Dei versus Pride; then Pietas/Envy; Scientia/Anger; Fortitudo (a Gift, and Cardinal Virtue)/Acedia; Consilium/Avarice; Intellectus/Gluttony; and Sapientia/Lust). Augustine had associated these virtues with the seven Beatitudes (Matthew 5. 3–12), and with the seven petitions of the paternoster.

The impulse to see human life as internal struggle, which produces Evagrius's 'thoughts', produces the allegorical thinking of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (*c.* 348–410). He showed how Virtues defeat Vices in an *Aeneid*-like epic battle, recording the defeat of paganism by Christianity. Fides contests Veterum Cultura Deorum, followed by Pudicitia, against Libido. Patientia is opposed by Ira, who destroys herself. Superbia is contrasted with Humilitas, and destroyed thanks to the pit dug by her follower, Fraus.[66] Spes holds Humilitas to cut off the head of Superbia: like David killing Goliath. Sobrietas contests Luxuria, who combines lust and gluttony, and fights with violets and rose-leaves. Avaritia, accompanied by others, is contested by Ratio. Avaritia disguised as Frugi, is defeated by Operatio or Largitas. The war over, Pax takes control, but Fides destroys Discordia, building a temple with Concordia for Wisdom.

These allegorical figures are virtues and vices within the soul, the *psyche*, or angelic and demonic spirits fighting for the soul; qualities outside the human. The *psyche* becomes a battleground, peopled by abstract forces. Characters are recognized by their actions, not by physical attributes; one virtue resembles

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[64] Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 108, arguing that the treatise on virtues and vices was created twice: in Greek in the fourth century in the Egyptian desert, and in Latin in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth century, 'at the point of contact between monastic and secular Christian culture' (p. 109).

[65] PL, XXXIV, cols 1229, 1234; trans. by J. Wach, 'Hugh of St Victor on the Virtues and Vices', *Anglican Theological Review*, 31 (1949), 25–33.

[66] Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988), p. 51, notes the popularity of the motif of Ira destroying herself in later imagery of this vice (and see also p. 58), and (p. 57) of Superbia falling from her horse ('vaulting ambition' — *Macbeth*, I. 7. 25–28).

another virtue.[67] By the thirteenth century, vices, virtues, and the seven capital vices had become part of the apparatus of the confessionial procedures of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), in the century when treatises flourished on virtues and vices. The Dominican William Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis* (1236) treated vices and named the seven capital vices as gluttony, lust, avarice, sloth, pride, envy, wrath, and then sins of the tongue. The corresponding *Summa de virtutibus* (before 1250) discusses virtue in general, the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the beatitudes. *Somme le roi* (1279), by the Dominican friar Laurent of Blois, for the Capetian king, Philip III, added to the list of virtues others derived from the paternoster. In the English treatise *Speculum Christiani* (*c.* 1360–80), the Seven Sins confess themselves in the first person, as happens in Langland.[68]

Seven capital vices required penitential practices. The Seven Penitential Psalms (nos 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143), named by Augustine and discussed by Cassiodorus (*c.* 485–*c.* 585) — who made the psalter both the epitome of the Bible and the encyclopedia of the Seven Liberal Arts — associated with the seven means for obtaining forgiveness: baptism, martyrdom, almsgiving, forgiving spirit, conversion of a sinner, love, and penance. Innocent III made the Psalms to be recited in Lent. For one example of the iconographical treatment of these Psalms: William M. Voelkle discusses their appearance in a Book of Hours of Poitiers (1475), attributed to Robinet Testard.[69] Psalm 6 — 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger' is illustrated by a young man — Pride (the sins are male)—sitting on a lion, a sceptre in his right hand, admiring himself in a mirror in his left. Below, an antlered Lucifer looks at a haughty woman rejecting a suitor. Psalm 32: 'Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven' (words Matelda sings, *Purg.*, XXIX. 3), shows envy riding a camel, an animal whose retentiveness of water emblemizes greed, while it also stands, by metonymy, for wealth (as in Matthew 19. 24). The man holds the chattering magpie, attracted to bright objects. In the space below, Beelzebub points to two groups of people speaking with each other, and looking at money. Psalm 38, 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath', seats Anger on a

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[67] Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988) p. 23.

[68] O'Reilly, *Iconography*, p. 89.

[69] William M. Voelkle, 'Morgant Manuscript M.1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones', in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. by Anne E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper, and Evelyn B. Harrison (Mainz: von Zabern, 1987), pp. 101–14.

leopard; man and animal show their teeth; the man is stabbing himself in the breast, and eating his heart, which is held in his left hand. Next to him is the devil Leviathan. In the space below appears a scene of daily life, with seven people in it; dogs fighting, women quarrelling, men fighting, one about to stab the other. The fourth sin, avarice, goes with Psalm 51: 'Have mercy upon me O God'. Dante has this Psalm sung by the late repentant (*Purg.*, V. 22–24), but it also associates with the gluttonous (*Purg.*, XXIII. 11), and is sung, perhaps by the angels, as Dante passes through the waters of Lethe (*Purg.*, XXXI. 98). In the Book of Hours, a man rides a wolf, Dante's symbol of greed: Voelkle cites Genesis 49. 27 in explanation, where Benjamin is a ravening wolf. The man has one bag at his belt, but empties the contents of another onto the floor. Money associates with carelessness, as a form of liberality, and with greed (the point holds with Dante's Statius). The devil with him is Mammon. Beneath are three groups: three men with purses, three women, and a man, a sack over his shoulder negotiating with another seated at a table covered with money.

The sin for Psalm 102, 'Hear my prayer O Lord', shows a man riding a boar, holding in one hand a ham, and drinking out of a jug with the other, and spilling it over his clothes: spilling repeats the fourth sin. Onions hang at his belt. Below appears Berith, or Baalberith, one of the Old Testament's pagan gods of Canaan. Covering his mouth, as though vomiting, he points to a table where one woman assists a man in vomiting, and people stretch forth their hands to grab food. The sin for Psalm 130, 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee', renders sloth, a man riding a donkey which has collapsed. In the scene below, the devil Astarot, points to the people in a shoemaker's shop, the woman with a distaff who has fallen asleep, a cobbler and his customer both asleep, the assistant asleep, one person trying to wake the customer. Voelkle says that sloth was associated with the feet. Psalm 143, 'Hear my prayer, O Lord', illustrates Lust. A young man rides a goat and holds in one hand a bird (thrush or nightingale), and in the other, the goat's horn: unlike the other riders, he has spurs. Below appears the devil Asmodeus, two men, about to take one young girl, escorted by an older woman; a couple embracing — the man putting his hand under the woman's skirt — and another woman behind.

Figures of diabolism, scenes of secular life and animals associate allegorically with each other. Reading *Inferno* I through these images would associate Dante's leopard with anger, his lion with pride, and the wolf with avarice. In the Book of Hours, the Psalm corresponds to the virtue which is not represented. But Dante has no representation of a corresponding virtue for the 'vice' that is punished on each cornice on Purgatory. The sin stands alone in its complexity, not given the

abstract character of an allegorical representation, which would necessitate a corresponding virtue. In the dramatic episodes of the cornices of Purgatory, 'vice' has not the status of being opposite to virtue, but contains its own self-division; not single, it contains its opposite qualities within itself.

Aquinas

For a last version of the seven capital vices, and their affective life, we turn to Aquinas, whose discussions of the sins appears in developed form in *De malo* (Of Evil). This makes Pride 'the mother of all sins' so that the seven capital sins come under it, and with vainglory especially akin to it. It is followed by Envy, *acedia*, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony, and Lust.[70] Aquinas discusses a passage in the *Ethics*:

> A state of the soul is either (1) an emotion, (2) a capacity, or (3) a disposition. By the emotions, I mean desire, anger, fear, confidence, envy, joy, friendship, hatred, longing, jealousy, pity; and generally these states of consciousness which are accompanied by pleasure or pain. The capacities are the faculties in virtue of which we can be said to be liable to the emotions, for example, capable of feeling anger or pain or pity. The dispositions [*hexis* — in Aristotle, a developed capacity, the active possession of a settled state] are the formed states of character in virtue of which we are well or ill disposed in respect of the emotions; for instance, we have a bad disposition in regard to anger if we are disposed to get angry too violently or not violently enough, a good disposition if we habitually feel a moderate amount of anger, and similarly in respect of the other emotions. Now the virtues and vices are not emotions, because we are not pronounced good or bad according to our emotions, but we are according to our vices [...] the virtues are certain modes of choice, or at all events involve choice. Moreover, we are said to be 'moved' by the emotions, whereas in respect of the virtues and vices we are not said to be 'moved' but to be 'disposed' in a certain way.[71]

This, from Aristotle suggests that emotions, cognitive as they are, can be brought under the control of rationality, whose assent is needed to them, modifying their desires, producing a disposition (*hexis*: Latin: *habitus*), an inclination towards behaving in a certain way. A virtue (*arete* = excellence, goodness), for Aristotle, is a disposition developed out of a capacity for acting or feeling, by the exercise of that capacity. Following Aristotle, Aquinas has less of the Augustinian tendency to make the will separate from intellect and understanding, and so evoking an

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[70] Thomas Aquinas, *On Evil*, trans. by Richard Regan, ed. by Brian Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 350. For Bloomfield on Aquinas see p. 87: Aquinas also discusses the sins in *ST*, I-II. q. 84 and II-II. q. 35.

[71] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1105b20–1106a7, pp. 87–89.

emotion. Choice in Aquinas involves belief and desire, and sin and evil are less active in Aquinas than in Augustine, for whom evil marks out rather an absence of being, a lack, whereas goodness and being are linked.[72] Good and evil are not in symmetry; evil is more like a failure within goodness.

The distinction between an emotion and a virtue and vice — both of these latter settled dispositions — puts emphasis on the rational powers. In *Purgatorio*, emotional states are all included under the rubric of the seven capital vices. Though the souls are purging themselves of those states which were a privation of their being, a coming short, the text's energy and creativity shows no inclination to reject those states, while the positive virtues, positive emotions which are their concomitants, are inseparable from the dynamism that appears on the cornices. And the examples of virtues initiating each cornice are recited by the souls whose life experience has been of the opposite state: as if the virtues and the vices were not wholly separable from each other but were dialogically interlinked. Aquinas's linking of goodness and being is a commitment to the idea of goodness as what Derrida calls 'presence'. But the sense of evil as being a form of negation which makes it an 'absence' can be considered in the light of Derrida, who discusses the impossibility of thinking of being on the basis of 'presence'. It is the subject of his critique of Western metaphysics and especially of Heidegger and Husserl within that tradition.[73] If being must be thought of in terms of absence, a distinction between good and evil is put in question too.

In the personifying of virtues and vices, it seems that being held or described by an affect (Love, Pride, Avarice) is catachrestic: the affect is allegorical. Each soul in *Purgatorio* is held by what is only questionably real, present and absent. If it is finally impossible to find a word for affective states, or to distinguish these from the taxonomy of virtues and vices emerging in the late classical and early Christian period — despite Aquinas's sense that emotions and vices are identical — this is because all these states are allegorical, requiring the subject identified through them has allegorical status. *Purgatorio*, unique amongst the three *cantiche*, in believing in the power of dreams and illusions, the power of 'imaginativa' (XVII. 13) and of the power of art, the power of the mirror and of the subject's

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[72] See the introduction by Brian Davies to *On Evil*, for evil as lack, and for Aquinas on the will, pp. 3–53. Note the citation of Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter 11, on evil as the absence of good, and his reference to *ST*, Ia. 5. 1, on goodness and being having a kind of equivalence (p. 21), since, in Aristotle, 'badness always involves the absence of what is desirable'.

[73] For this in Derrida in relation to theology, see Hugh Rayment-Pickard, *Impossible God: Derrida's Theology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

ability to be caught up in fantasy, questions the division between presence and absence. The text plays with fictitious bodies — Casella (II. 76–85), Sordello with Virgil (VI. 67–75), and Statius with Virgil (XXI. 130–36) — and bodies which seem solid, attracting shadows. Affects come and go as voices are heard and fade away. Perhaps, despite its schematism, analysis of the seven cornices shows that *Purgatorio* does not fix an affect onto a person or define that person in a single identifiable way. To watch Dante on affects in *Purgatorio* is to see fascination with what resists definition. Affects destabilize themselves and those who think themselves free of them.

VIRTUES AND VICES:
CONVIVIO TO *PURGATORIO*

Divisions of the Soul

Inferno XI, which, apart from Canto VI, is the shortest of the cantos, analyses how hell distinguishes and punishes different vices. Virgil explains the order of the seventh, eighth, and ninth circles of hell, saying that of all malice which gains hatred in heaven, the end is injury (*ingiuria*). He distinguishes the two ends: force, or fraud. Fraud is declared a 'male' peculiar to man, and so it most displeases God (ll. 22–26). Virgil returns to the subject and subdivides it: fraud practised on the person confiding in the fraudulent person, fraud on the unconfiding.

Dante asks about the sinners seen in the earlier circles; Virgil cites the opening of the seventh book of Aristotle's *Ethics* on 'le tre disposizion, che 'l ciel non vole; | incontenenza, malizia e la matta | bestialitade' (ll. 81–83). Dante's 'malice' is the word for 'vice' (*kakia*) in Aristotle; Aristotle's incontinence being *akrasia*, weakness of the will. Bestiality, or brutality, is *theriotes*. Robert Hollander summarizes this reading of the three lower circles, assuming, in a viewpoint shared by Francesco Mazzoni, that the 'malice' of line 22 is the same as that of line 82, and that incontinence covers the sins spoken of thus far. Mad bestiality refers to the ninth circle, and malice to the seventh and eighth. Malice, he points out, includes violence and fraud.[1] He also cites Alfred Triolo, for whom malice covers the seventh and eighth circles, while the ninth is the sphere of not just bestiality, a

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[1] Robert Hollander, *Dante: A Life in Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 109–14; see the reference to Mazzoni, p. 199 n. 143. This is an excellent introduction, with a good bibliography.

word applicable to other regions of hell, but of madness: hence the ninth circle is separate from all others.[2]

Hollander may be right, save that the threefold division he gives omits the sixth circle, where Virgil and Dante are standing, and there seems no necessary reason to assume that the forms of malice in lines 22 and 82 are identical. He also refers to the opposing view of Marc Cogan, who, following *Epistulae*, XIII. 6, places the ethical at the centre of the *Commedia*, and explains the text through Aristotle on the three souls.[3]

Aristotle thinks of different souls constituting the soul (defined as the form of the body ('the soul must be substance in the senses of being the form of a natural body, which potentially has life' — *De anima*, II. 1412a20).[4] The first is the nutritive or the vegetative, with powers of assimilation and reproduction. Plant growth is a function of the soul: what distinguishes plants from animals is that the latter have sensation. The sensitive soul has the powers of sense perception, desire, and motion. Imagination and memory follow on from this. The third soul is the human, with the powers of the lower two souls, plus the power of mind — of scientific thought and truth for practical purposes. This mind requires a *tabula rasa* on which it may print forms, so *De anima*, III. 5, distinguishes between two sorts of intellect: one is the 'matter' of thought, and 'becomes all things'. This is the passive intellect, and it is perishable, because inseparable from the body. The other is the intellect which is separable and creative and abstracts forms from the images or *phantasmata*, which are received in the passive intellect, in such a way that it can generalize from these. In *Vita nuova*, at Dante's first sight of Beatrice, the 'spirito de la vita', which dwells in the heart trembles; this is followed by the reaction of 'lo spirito animale', which lives in the head, and then that of 'lo spirito naturale', which is in the liver, the place of digestion. The emotional, the intellectual (which receives sense perceptions) and the physical parts of the soul are all involved.

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[2] Alfred A. Triolo, 'Canto XI: Malice and Mad Bestiality', in *Lectura Dantis: Inferno*, ed. by Allen Mandelbaum, Anthony Oldcorn, and Charles Ross (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 150–64. Triolo gives a breakdown of the various critics' views of the divisions of hell, tracing Cogan's view back to Nardi.

[3] Marc Cogan, *The Design in the Wax: The Structure of the 'Divine Comedy' and its Meaning* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

[4] Aristotle, *On the Soul*, trans. by W. S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 69. See Christopher Shields, 'Soul and Body in Aristotle', in *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy, VI*, ed. by Julia Annas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 103–38.

No virtues are associated with the nutritive, or vegetative, soul; it does not involve itself with rationality, or choice. Its powers are nutrition, growth, and reproduction. The second soul, the animal, has linking sensitive, appetitive, and locomotive powers. The sensitive powers, as developed by Avicenna on Aristotle, and broadly accepted, comprised the five external (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch) and five internal: *fantasia*, *imaginatio*, *imaginativa*, *extimativa*, and *memorialis*. These are powers of apprehension. The first, in the brain's front ventricle, receives sensations. The second, behind it, retains the sensible forms. *Imaginativa* in the central ventricle creates imaginary images, and is subordinate to what lies behind it, *extimativa*, the highest power possessed by animals, akin to natural instinct, is capable of making judgements based on experience. The last ventricle contains memory, which retains what *extimativa* has apprehended.[5] This order was Galen's: he said the three ventricles of the brain comprise imagination, thought, and memory. But the ultimate power of the soul, its third part, is the intellective, with the power of understanding and reason; this soul is proper to the human.[6] This material may be summed up in Augustine: God 'gave to flesh its origin, beauty, health, fruitfulness in propagation and disposition and wholesome concord of its members. Also to the irrational soul He has given memory, sensation and appetite, and to the rational soul He has in addition given mind, intelligence and will.'[7]

We may use Cogan, who, examining medieval commentaries on Aristotle, says Aquinas argues for two parts for those appetites in the animal soul. The first, the *concupiscible*, is for things obviously good: love and hate, desire and aversion, and joy and sorrow. The second, the *irascible*, is for what requires arduous effort, including hope and despair, confidence and fear, and anger. These eleven passions appear as appetites, which originate actions, whether good or bad, and move the organism towards objects. These appetites are affects, felt somatically.[8] All virtues and vices come out of the regulation of these. An appetite (an affect), a movement of the spirit towards an object, is countered by power of choice, and the

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[5] See E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1975), pp. 41–46, 52–61, for Aquinas on Platonism in Avicenna.

[6] For the three souls, see Galen, in *Vita nuova*, 2. 4–6, *De vulgari eloquentia*, II. 2. 2–6, *Convivio*, XXXII. 10–16, quoting *De anima*, bk II.

[7] Augustine, *City of God*, V. 11, p. 206.

[8] See Peter King, 'Aquinas on the Passions', in *Thomas Aquinas: Contemporary Philosophical Perspectives*, ed. by Brian Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 353–84.

characteristic pattern that emerges is a *disposition*, Virgil's word in *Inferno*, XI. 81. A disposition continued with is a habit, an acquired capacity. The end of Chapter 2 quoted from *Nicomachean Ethics* (II. 5), indicating that virtues or vices of character (*ethos*) are states determining how the capacity for the emotions/affects will be used. Activities of feeling, or doing, create dispositions; long-term states modifying affects:

> Virtue [...] is a settled disposition of the mind regarding the choice [*prohairesis* — decision] of actions and emotions, consisting essentially in the observance of the mean relative to us, this being determined by principle, that is, as the prudent man would determine it. (II. 6. 1106b36–1107a3, p. 95)

Virtue leads towards a choice of actions and feelings, putting the emotions firmly under the control of the person's dominant settled state (*hexis*). Choice and character are linked; for Aristotle, choice is governed by a conception of happiness: it should be noted that, in praising 'the mean', Aristotle would not accept that virtues are states of impassivity, of *apatheia* (II. 3. 1104b25, p. 81).[9]

The intellectual is the only appetite not producing passion. Cogan cites Aquinas calling the will an appetite.[10] The will, as an intellective function (*ST*, I-II. 6. 2 ad. 1: 'voluntas nominat rationalem appetitum') is regulated by the virtue of justice, which *Convivio*, I. 12. 9, makes the most distinctively human quality, its virtue existing exclusively in man's rational, or intellectual part. And injustice is the most hated of vices, and again, the only one proper to man. For Cogan, Dante identifies fraud with injustice, making fraud the activity of the intellectual appetite, or the will. So the will, and *libertum arbitrium*, free will (*ST*, 1. q. 81. a2), comprise the intellectual appetite.[11] Hence, the description of 'incontinence' applies to *Inferno*'s circles up to and including the sixth, and 'matta bestialitade' refers to the violent of the seventh circle. Malice covers circles eight and nine. Sins involving the will (relating to fraud) are punished in the eighth and ninth circles. These sins are pursued free from passion, involving a certain calculation of advantage.[12] But the sins up to the seventh circle involve the two appetites, the concupiscible and the irascible, the latter including, for example,

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[9] Sorabji, *Emotion*, pp. 194–95.

[10] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 20.

[11] See Mark D. Jordan, 'Aquinas's Construction of a Moral Account of the Passions', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 33 (1986), 71–97.

[12] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 25.

Capaneus,[13] and in the sixth circle Farinata: Cogan sees 'disdegno' (*Inf.*, X. 63) having shades of the word 'anger'.[14] So:

> the medieval psychological doctrine of three appetites, in which all action arises, provided a way of concretizing Aristotle's moral distinctions, and provided Dante a means of distinguishing and characterizing sins. The natural hierarchy of the appetites placed them in an order Dante could use; as the appetites can be ordered from the most commonly animal to the most properly human, so are sins from the least blameworthy to the most: sins of concupiscence, which Dante calls sins of incontinence, sins of irascibility (for the most part, sins of violence); sins of the will, calculated sins of fraud.[15]

Cogan here seems to run together appetites and dispositions, and so demonstrates the impossibility of settling for clear definitions, least of all those which presuppose the governing or directing of affectual states. And before continuing, Sapegno's opposing judgement should be noted: mad bestiality is not assigned a specific place in the Inferno. This implies that there is no specific order implied in *Inferno* XI, lines 79–84, rather, only an argument about incontinence, which less offends God, and incurs less blame.[16]

Cogan's argument is insightful but problematic, isolating one sin from another, so that each circle is separated according to a taxonomy of developing degrees of guilt which is rigid, and premised on a 'natural order'[17] whose authority is not clear. Committed to the view that the justice of the Inferno is palpable to all, Christian or non-Christian, it assumes, problematically, that the system is intelligible outside Dante's use of it: hence the use of the word *natural* in the quotation just given is significant. With the sodomites, Cogan must, impossibly, justify Dante's system of punishment via his own system which he claims to be Dante's: 'the location of the sodomites [...] in the seventh circle suggests that it is not the sexual dimension of the sin that is being punished. Rather, since the sodomites' choice of sexual partners is, from the standpoint of the conventional understanding of the operation of concupiscence, unnatural, and since to act against nature is by definition arduous, the sodomites's pursuit of sexual pleasure therefore, cannot fit the pattern of simple lust. Simple concupiscence would not

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[13] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 31.

[14] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 56.

[15] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 36.

[16] Pier Massimo Forti, 'Lectura Dantis: *Inferno* XI', *Lectura Dantis*, 4 (1989), 20–29.

[17] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 74.

pursue so difficult an object'.[18] It is hard not to feel that 'nature' is being used simultaneously in contradictory fourteenth-century and modern senses, and that the argument reads the text as justifying Dante's system in absolute terms. The sinners of the eighth and ninth circles do not feel passion, he says, and this argument must be sustained to make these sins correspond to the activity of the will.[19] No ardour in Ulysses? Is the rhetoric of Ulysses's address to his company so fake that he is not persuaded by it? No ardour in Guido da Montefeltro's desire to know about the Romagna? The view would suggest that there is no passion in Ugolino, as opposed to seeing him as a self-repressed figure.

The same division comes in Cogan's account of the seven capital vices in *Purgatorio*, saying about the use of the word *vice* rather than *sin* that what is being cleansed there is not actions but the habits, or dispositions, which work on the appetitive or rational powers that operate in the process of making deliberate choices of action. Vices dispose these powers to a bad operation, which deviates from their natural purpose: hence they are against nature. Thus pride and envy are associated with the will (the intellectual soul), and associate with injustice; anger and sloth with the irascible appetite, avarice, gluttony, and lust with the concupiscible. Pride is the sin of the angels, who have no sensitive soul, which confines them to the intellectual soul.

The analysis, which attempts to assign incontinence, malice, and mad bestiality to different regions, without allowing them to shade each other, wishes to read Dante as defining the human. That Dante does himself do this is hinted at in the citation from *Convivio*, I. 12. 9, as well as in *Purgatorio*, XXV. 37–108: Statius's account to Dante of the growth of the soul, and the soul and its body after death. Cogan faults Bruno Nardi, who reads Dante as following Albert the Great (seeing the intellectual soul develop through being a vegetative soul and an animal soul), arguing rather that for Dante the animal soul is always an animal soul, capable of performing vegetative functions also (it has not, as it were, evolved). Albert has a model of things being in *potento*, in which Nardi follows him,[20] his authority being *Convivio*, IV. 21. 4, which speaks of a 'vertù formativa' in semen which acts before the creation of the soul, and continues to act that the soul develops until it becomes an intellective soul.

[18] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 59.

[19] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 72.

[20] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 347.

The argument suggests a change in *Purgatorio* XXV from *Convivio* IV. The canto gives not the soul's *development*, but *transformation*. The intellectual soul, when breathed on by God, becomes the source of one single soul with three functions, 'che vive e sente e sè in sè regira' (XXV. 75)—that lives, and feels, and turns upon itself reflectively. It becomes intellectual, sensitive, and vegetative. The soul repeats the operation after death, so producing an aetherial body. The transformation from being an animal soul is towards being a 'fante' (XXV. 61) which, of course, implies the power of speech. The change from an animal soul to one with language brings out the separate nature of the human from anything that has gone before, and it is stressed that this activity of becoming human is miraculous, God's change (XXV. 126–40).

The soul forms the spiritual body too, as it forms the material body on earth with its three souls, and Cogan can argue that for the spiritual bodies that Dante meets, 'the pain, and the faculties by which they experience it, must ultimately be intellectual. On the basis of Statius's account, we must conclude that all of the *human* appetites, even those which appear to be sensitive appetites, are ultimately intellectual in origin and character.'[21] This locates everything of the human in the will, and in the intellectual soul, making this the basis for establishing the uniqueness of the human. 'Worldly appetites' are 'merely corporeal extensions' of the intellectual soul.[22]

This is an Aquinian point of view, and makes everything of affect descend from a rationalist being; its schematicism, which would include in it all affects, may be criticized, as may its underplaying of affect as that which escapes the intellect. The reading makes the integration of the will with the intellect essential, so stressing Virgil's words at the end of *Purgatorio*, XXVII. 140: 'Libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio' — free, upright, and whole is your will: Dante now has *liberum arbitrium*.[23] The will is subordinated to the intellect. Interestingly, Cogan has nothing to say about Averroës in his discussion of Canto XXV, which makes the reading more resolutely single, less speculative, since the introduction of Averroës, if only to say that he erred, brings Statius into dialogue with another

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[21] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 142.

[22] Cogan, *Design in the Wax*, p. 146.

[23] For Aquinas on reason and the will, and how the passions cannot overtake these, and the contrast with Albert, who made reason and will contradictory to each other than complementary (the argument might make Virgil's statement to Dante more a triumph over Albert's view than stating an Aquinian view), see Daniel Westberg, *Right Practical Reason: Aristotle, Action and Prudence in Aquinas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 43–115.

viewpoint which the reader is at liberty to think about; Averroës emphasizing a difference between the intellect and the sensitive soul, so separating, effectively, reason and affect.

Virtue and Happiness

What is the relationship between the appetites, and virtues and vices? The moral virtues perfect the appetite, by which is meant that they have the appetites as their subject. Dante approaches the subject of a 'virtue' in the prose work, the *Convivio*, written before *Inferno*. Aristotle in the *Ethics* (I. 13. 1103a) had seen virtue as either intellectual or moral. Wisdom, Understanding, and Prudence are intellectual virtues, Liberality and Temperance are moral, and from moral virtues a person gains character ('ethos' meaning both 'character' and 'custom', or 'habit'). To become ethical is to have acquired moral dispositions.

The fourth *trattato* of *Convivio* defines nobility, also called 'gentilezza' (IV. 14. 8), and says that the virtues are a fruit of nobility. And nobility is called the seed of happiness which is infused by God into the soul that is well disposed, or well placed ('le vertudi sono frutto di nobilitade, e che Dio questa metta ne l'anima che ben siede'). 'Human nobility is none other than the seed of happiness placed by God in the soul that is well placed' (nobilitade umana non sia altro che 'seme di felicitade', *messo da Dio ne l'anima ben posta*, *Con.*, IV. 20. 9). He has already, in *Convivio* IV. 20. 7, evoked Guinizelli for the canzone 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore' — Love quickly repairs to the gentle heart — so saying that Love is absolutely related to nobleness.

Aristotle's *Ethics* (I. 13. 1102a4, p. 87) makes happiness 'an activity of the soul in accordance with perfect virtue', and 'happiness' is at the heart of the *Convivio*, according with Dante's interest in Averroës. Commenting on Averroës's influence on Dante, John Took cites him for three problematic views, the first monopsychism, 'the idea that man, far from having an intellect of his own, shared for the duration of his mortal life in the one universal intellect'.[24] (The view is implicit in what is said in *Purgatorio*, XXV. 61–66, and we will come back to it.) The second is making a split or opposition between the truths of philosophy and those of theology (see below, Chapter 6). The third, to be considered now, is the possibility of humans reaching perfect speculative happiness in this life.

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[24] John Took, *Dante: Lyric Poet and Philosopher: An Introduction to the Minor Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 113.

Happiness in *Convivio* comes in exercising virtue, virtue comes from nobility, and nobility comes from the seed of happiness. And, according to the text's third *trattato*, it is found in the Lady Philosophy (III. 14. 12). Love of philosophy, which is therefore also love of nobility, prompts belief in the miraculous: it leads to faith, which prompts hope, from which springs the activity of charity:

> Per le quale tre virtudi si sale a filosofare a quelle Atene celestiali, dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici e Epicurii, per la luce de la veritade etterna, in uno volere concordevolemente concorrono. (III. 14. 15)

> (By these three virtues we rise to philosophize in that celestial Athens, where the Stoics and Peripatetics and Epicureans, by the light of eternal truth, run together harmoniously in one will.)[25]

This implies that the soul rises towards perfection through the love of philosophy, which even confers the three theological virtues. The next chapter complements the point, suggesting that human longing can never go further than the knowledge that is given to it (III. 15. 7–9). Philosophy is virtually identified with divine wisdom.[26] That is apparent in III. 15. 2 when Dante speaks of Philosophy's eyes and smiles:

> ne le quali si dimostra la luce interiore de la Sapienza sotto alcuno velamento, e in questo due cose si sente quel piacere altissimo di beatitudine, lo quale è massimo bene in Paradiso.

> (in which [her smiles] the light interior to wisdom shows itself under a kind of veil. In these two places experience is given of that most sublime of pleasures, happiness, which is the greatest good enjoyed in Paradise).

The *trattato* uses the terminology of Divine Sapientia (Wisdom) as derived from the Old Testament (see III. 11. 2 and III. 12. 13–14).[27] A sense of how much can be given through the Lady Philosophy has already appeared:

> E dico che ne lo suo aspetto appariscono cose le quali dimostrano de' piaceri [di Paradiso]. E intra li altri di quelli lo più nobile e quello che è inizio e fine di tutti li altri, si è contentarsi, e questo si è essere beato; e questo piacere è veramente, avvegna che per altro

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[25] Stoics and Peripatetics were linked by Cicero (*De officiis*, I. 6). For Cicero and the Epicureans, see *De officiis*, III. 33. For Dante on the Epicureans, see Patrick Boyde, *Dante: Philosopher and Philomythes: Man in the Cosmos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 303. The Epicureans are discussed in *Purg.*, XVIII. 34–39.

[26] See *Con.*, II. 15. 12, III. 12. 12–14, III. 7. 15–16, III. 13. 7, III. 14. 3. See John A. Scott, 'The Unfinished *Convivio* as a Pathway to the *Comedy*', *Dante Studies*, 113 (1995), 31–56.

[27] See Peter Dronke, *Dante's Second Love: The Origin and the Contexts of the 'Convivio'* (Exeter: Society for Italian Studies, 1997), pp. 36–40.

modo, ne l'aspetto di costei. Ché, guardando costei, la gente si contenta, tanto dolcemente ciba la sua bellezza li occhi de' riguardatori; ma per altro modo che per lo contentare in Paradiso [che] è perpetuo, ché non può ad alcuno essere questo. (*Con.*, III. 8. 5)

(And I say that in her aspect appear things that show the pleasures of Paradise. And among the rest of these the most noble is that which is the beginning and end of all others, that is contentment, and that is being blessed, and this pleasure is truly, although in another way, in her aspect. For, by looking on her, people are so contented, so sweetly does the beauty of her eyes feed those that look at her, but in another mode from happiness in Paradise, which is perpetual, which this cannot be for anyone.)

Nobility, 'gentilezza', and philosophy come together to produce something that produces virtue, and the moral virtues seem to lead towards the 'celestial Athens', even if Dante draws back from the full implications of this Averroism.

It seems unnecessary to set a break between the conception of the lady Philosophy in the third and the fourth *trattato*. That there is a continuity between the love of wisdom and divine blessedness returns in *Convivio*, IV. 13. 7–8, in a context which calls Averroës 'lo Commentatore' (commenting on *De anima*), indicating that human capacity to know moves towards a definite end. This goal cannot be God, who is impossible to know: actively and speculatively, there is, therefore, a happiness which is achievable here, though Took says that there are other places (e.g., III. 6. 7, IV. 22. 18), where Dante argues for desire as infinite.

Virtue, in *Convivio*, IV. 20. 2, is primarily nobility, only secondly passion or emotion; in the previous section (IV. 19. 8, 9), Dante calls shame, which comes from nobility, a 'passione' and not a virtue. That again follows Aristotle, who had said in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, II. 5, that a virtue cannot be a feeling because people cannot be blamed or praised for their feelings, only for virtues. The virtues are, therefore, primarily products of nobility, and Foster and Boyde define this as 'a prevalence of intellection in the human composition',[28] emanating from the possible intellect.

The *Ethics*, I. 13. 9 (1102a), divided the complete soul into the rational and the irrational. The rational part may be subdivided: the first of these subdivisions being rational in terms of the intellect, the second is rational in moral terms. Book II then describes the moral virtues, and *Convivio*, IV. 17, enumerates them. The first three are particularly important: Fortezza (courage), Temperanza (temperance), Liberalitade (liberality), Magnificenza (munificence), Magnanimitade — the buildup of great-hearted qualities will be observed in these last

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[28] Kenelm Foster and Patrick Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), II, 223.

three — and Amativa d'onore (proper pride). After these come Mansuetudine (serenity), Affabilitade (Affability), Veritade (truthfulness), Eutrapelia (ease and enjoyment). The eleventh is justice.[29] Aquinas commented on Aristotle's list, seeing the first virtues relating to internal passions, then those relating to passions connected with external goods, then those relating to external actions. He softened Aristotle's emphasis on courage as being physical, the endurance of danger, pain, and death. Magnanimity, the quality of being *megalopsuchos*, 'great-souled', discussed further in Chapter 5, relates to Aristotle's courage, and implies willingness to take risks.[30] It, and justice, are the twin peaks of Aristotle's sense of virtues. Dante follows this list by saying that each virtue is flanked by two enemies, two vices, one on the side of excess, the other on the side of defect. Each virtue is 'abito elettivo consistente nel mezzo' (IV. 17. 7) — a habit of choice that is consistent with the mean. This, deriving from *Ethics*, II. 6. 15–16 (107a), makes virtue a negative, a choice of not doing two bad things. In Aristotle's eleven moral virtues, all four of the cardinal virtues are there, excepting prudence (*phronêsis*), which Dante says that Aristotle makes an intellectual virtue, though Dante grants that it is a guide of the moral virtues (IV. 17. 8). It is the virtue making possible the virtues, in enabling the choice of the mean between the two contrasted vices, and hence being situated between the moral and intellectual.

Ethics VI. 1 discusses the rational part of the soul, and speaks of five truth-attaining qualities within it: art, or technical skill, scientific knowledge, prudence, wisdom, and intelligence (VI. 3. 1139b14–17). There is apparent here a distinction between the active and the contemplative forms of existence. Similarly, Dante's chapter (IV. 17. 9) continues that there are two forms of happiness which may be attained, from the active and the contemplative life. Aristotle's distinction appears in the *Ethics*, X. 7. 8, which culminates by saying that the life of contemplation, of the intellect, is higher than the human level:

> not in virtue of his humanity will a man achieve it, but in virtue of something within him that is divine; and by as much as this something is superior to his composite nature, by so much is its activity superior to the exercise of the other forms of virtue. If then the

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[29] Aristotle, *Ethics*, bk III. 23, bk IV, and bk V, which discusses Justice; trans. by Rackham, pp. 153–323: see also the edition trans. by J. A. K. Thomson, rev. by Hugh Tredennick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), pp. 106–202.

[30] For Aristotle's virtues, and an overview of commentaries on them, see Susan D. Collins, 'The Moral Virtues in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*', in *Action and Contemplation: Studies in the Moral and Political Thought of Aristotle*, ed. by Robert C. Bartlett and Susan D. Collins (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 131–58.

intellect is something divine in comparison with man, so is the life of the intellect divine in comparison with human life. (*Ethics*, X. 7. 8. 1177b30–34, p. 617).

In this context, Aristotle says, 'we ought as far as possible to achieve immortality'. John M. Cooper summarizes by saying that Aristotle argues (a) 'that the intellect is the best thing in us, so that its excellent exercise is better than the exercise of the other virtues (1177b28–29), and precisely because it is something divine we will add something of superior power and worth to our lives by doing everything we can to realize as fully as possible the presence of this immortal element in us (1177b33–1178a2)'. Then (b) 'each person is (1178a1–2) his intellect (or at any rate, is his intellect more than he is any of the other elements in his make-up' and a thing (i.e., a person) 'should be identified with that in it which controls and is better than the others'. Then (c), 'if each of us is (by nature) more than anything else his theoretical intellect, the "life of the intellect", that is, a life devoted to the exercise of all the human virtues but with special emphasis on the virtues of the theoretical intellect, will be proper to us, and so best and most pleasant, and, in consequence, happiest for us' (1178a4–8).[31]

Contemplation (*theoria*) was, in Platonism, apprehension, by the pure mind, of the being of God. Origen had spoken of the Christian's pilgrimage being divided into an active life and a contemplative: both were necessary. The goal of the active life was the conquest of the demons motivating the passions: this would produce the *apatheia* discussed in Chapter 2. Then the soul could receive direct knowledge of God. For Evagrius, the active and the contemplative life were successive states, the goal being the contemplative life: in Cassian, the fight against the eight temptations was the 'active life'.[32] Similarly, in *Monarchia*, I. 3. 10, Dante declares the second superior, just as, when *Convivio* introduces the contemplative life (IV. 17), he links *Ethics*, Book X, with the words of Christ to Martha in Luke 10. 38–42. These, as Dante interprets them, compare Martha's activity with her sister, Mary the contemplative, sitting at Jesus's feet (*Con.*, IV. 17. 9–11).

Nonetheless, Dante says that he speaks of the moral rather than the intellectual virtues. He returns to the two possible forms of happiness in IV. 22. 10–18. The practical activity of the mind effects things with integrity, that is, with the aid of the four cardinal virtues, but the contemplative 'consider[s] the works of

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[31] Cooper, *Reason and Emotion*, pp. 231–32. For a bibliography giving main authors in the debate over the active and contemplative lives, see M. B. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 133.

[32] Chadwick, *John Cassian*, pp. 84–94.

God and nature' (*considerare l'opere di Dio e de la natura*). This is a superior blessedness, being the activity of our 'most noble part, that is, the intellect' (IV. 22. 13). The most perfect exercise of that activity would be to see God, the highest object of the intellect, which cannot quite see God, but can reflect on him and perceive him through his effects. Mark's Gospel makes seeking the contemplative life supreme, and Dante allegorizes the passage at the end of Mark when the three women come to the tomb and are told by the young man dressed in white that the risen Christ has gone before them to Galilee, where they must see him. These women are the three philosophical schools, the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics, who made the active life their interest.

> Questo angelo è questa nostra nobilitade che da Dio viene, come detto è, che ne la nostra ragione parla, e dice a ciascuna di queste sette, cioè a qualunque va cercando beatitudine ne la vita attiva, che non è qui; ma vada, e dicalo a li discepoli e a Piero, cioè a coloro che 'l vanno cercando, e a coloro che sono sviati, sì come Piero che l'avea negato, che in Galilea li precederà: cioè che la beatitudine precederà in Galilea, cioè ne la speculazione. Galilea è tanto a dire quanto bianchezza. Bianchezza è uno colore pieno di luce corporale più che nullo altro; e così la contemplazione è più piena di luce spirituale che altra cosa che qua giù sia. E dice: 'Elli precederà [...] a dare a intendere che ne la nostra contemplazione Dio sempre precede, né mai lui giugnere potemo qui, lo quale è nostra beatitudine somma. E dice: 'Quivi lo vedrete, sì come disse': cioè quivi avrete de la sua dolcezza, cioè de la felicitade, sì come a voi è promesso qui; cioè, sì come stabilito è che voi avere possiate. E così appare che nostra beatitudine (questa felicitade di cui si parla) prima trovare potemo quasi imperfetta ne la vita attiva, cioè ne le operazioni de le morali virtudi, e poi perfetta quasi ne le operazioni de le intellettuali. Le quali due operazioni sono vie espedite e dirittisime a menare a la somma beatitudine, la quale qui non si puote avere, come appare pur per quello che detto è. (IV. 22. 16–18)

> (This angel is our nobility that comes from God, as it is said, and that speaks in our reason, and says to each one of these sects, that is, to everyone who goes seeking blessedness [happiness] in the active life, that it is not here: but go, and tell his disciples and Peter, that is to those who go seeking, and to those who are out of the way, like Peter, who had denied him, that he will go before you into Galilee: that is, our blessedness precedes us in Galilee, that is, in speculation. Galilee is as if to say whiteness. Whiteness is a colour full of corporeal light, more than any other, and thus contemplation is more full of spiritual light than any other thing down here. He says, 'He shall go before you' [...] to make it understood that God always precedes us in our contemplation, and that here below we can never have power to reach him who is our supreme blessedness. He says, 'There you shall see him, as he said', that is, there you shall have his sweetness, that is his happiness, as he promised you; that is, as it has been decreed that you shall have power to possess it. And thus it appears that our blessedness (that is, that happiness of which I spoke) first can be found as if imperfect in the active life, that is, in works, and then as if perfectly in the works of the intellectual virtues. The which two works are the quickest and most direct to lead to the highest blessedness, the which cannot be had here, as appears from what has been said.)

This, where Took finds a 'very pale shadow' of Averroism (I think this over-minimizes),[33] connects with what was said earlier of these three schools (*Con.*, III. 14. 15, quoted earlier). The absence of reference to the theological virtues is the surprise. The conclusion of IV. 22 proposes a tripartite scheme: one, of the active life, *quasi imperfetta*; another, the *perfetta quasi*, which is the contemplative; and the third, the *somma beatitudine*.[34] But nothing is said about how to reach the third, and while a difference between the second and the third is apparent, it is not clear where this division falls. If the contemplative life has such prominence, this associates with the conclusion of *Monarchia* (III. 16. 3), probably written at the same time as *Paradiso*, making man the 'only entity that occupies an intermediate position between things corruptible and incorruptible' and compared to 'the horizon, which is the mid-line between two halves of a sphere'. The rational soul is also incorruptible. In a passage from *De anima* (II. 2. 413b24–29), quoted in *Monarchia* (III. 16. 4), Aristotle writes that 'concerning the intellect and the potentiality for contemplation [...] it seems to be a different kind of soul, and this alone can exist separately, as the everlasting can from the perishable. But [...] the remaining parts of the soul are not separable [from the perishable]'. Aristotle's point had been made before: 'The intellect seems to be born in us as a kind of substance, and not to be destroyed' (I. 4. 408b18).

Monarchia, III. 16 sets a goal in this life which the corruptible part of man's bipartite nature follows, which has to do with the moral virtues. There is another telos in this life for the contemplative soul: though *Convivio*, IV. 22. 18, may seem to hedge on this point. There is also, of course, a telos for the uncreated part. *Monarchia* combines the first two of these three into one, contending:

> Two goals, therefore, have been set by God's inexplicable providence for man to attain. One is the beatitude of this life, which consists in the exercise of man's own powers, and which is symbolized by the earthly paradise. The other is the beatitude of eternal life, which consists in the enjoyment of the divine vision (to which man's own powers cannot ascend unless aided by divine light), and which is symbolized by the heavenly paradise. [...] We come to the first beatitude by means of philosophic doctrines, provided that we follow them by practising the moral and intellectual virtues. We come to the second,

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[33] Took, *Dante*, p. 116.

[34] Quoted in Richard Kay's translation of *Monarchia* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), p. 312, from Mario Trovato, 'Dante and the Tradition of the "Two Beatitudes"', in *Lectura Dantis Newberryiana*, I: *Lectures Presented at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, 1983–1985*, ed. by Paolo Cherchi and Antonio C. Mastrobuono (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988), pp. 19–36. See also Prue Shaw's translations of *Monarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

however, by means of spiritual doctrines that transcend human reason, provided that we follow them by practising the theological virtues, namely, faith, hope and charity. (*Monarchia*, III. 16. 7, 8, trans. by Kay)

Interestingly, after saying this, Dante emphasizes his secularity by speaking of avarice — 'humana cupiditas' — as the obstacle to realizing these goals.[35] As regards the first beatitude, Dante may be looking back to the *Purgatorio*. The Earthly Paradise combines the active and contemplative lives, and, as with *Convivio*, a high place is given to philosophy in reaching this. The beatitude of eternal life is pursued through the three theological virtues, but something else should be noted: it has already been seen, from *Convivio*, III.14.14–15, that the pursuit of wisdom seems to produce these theological virtues, with an additional stress also being placed in *Convivio*, that those theological virtues are how the soul rises to philosophize, as if placing all the weight on philosophy, not on the theological virtues. The souls crowned by the theological virtues rise to philosophize, as later it is said that they go on to contemplate. The two forms of beatitude are brought close together, if they do not actually change places. There is not an obvious, clear break in thinking between the *Convivio* and the *Monarchia*, and despite absence of detail about how the theological virtues are to be attained, they are not separated from the moral and intellectual virtues. If there is a secular element within the text that makes the distinction between the two forms of blessedness clear and unclear at the same moment, it follows that it is not possible to make a single distinction between the two guides that are offered either.

The image of the horizon makes whatever division may be between these spheres a fiction, making the line of separation impossible to maintain. What is on the horizon is on both sides of the divide. As, in relation to the first and second blessednesses, prudence seems to be both a moral virtue (so associated with the animal soul) and an intellectual one (so associated with the rational soul), and as, for Aristotle, there had been a rationality of the animal soul and a rationality of the rational soul, so *Monarchia*, III. 16, does not go far in marking a difference between what is corruptible and what is not, what is reached via the moral and intellectual virtues, and what through the theological (though *Monarchia*, II. 7. 4, shows the latter to be indispensable).

Monarchia, III. 16, and implicitly throughout, emphasizes that despite such rationality, a double government, the Emperor and the Papacy, is needed, because of 'cupiditas'. A counter-discourse that contrasts emotions with rationality is

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[35] See cupiditas in *Monarchia*: I. 11. 6, 11,13, 14; I. 13. 7; I. 16. 3; II. 5. 5; III. 3. 8,17; III. 16. 14. For avarice and Fabricius (II. 5. 11), see Chapter 9, below.

brought in; and, equally important, temporal, imperial power is endued with authority from God without any mediation (III. 16. 15), so further dissolving a distinction between the first two and the third states of beatitude.

Before leaving this discussion of the three souls, what of the intellect? *De anima*, III. 4, says that it exists as pure potentiality. In III. 5, the argument is that 'in the individual soul there is an Active and a Passive Intellect. The effect of the former is to bring the latter up from potentiality to act. As for immortality, this is limited to the Active Intellect, which certainly survives, though it has no memory nor knowledge of the external world. Its strange character may perhaps best be summarized as a power to induce thought which is itself some kind of self-thinking being.'[36] The last sentence of *De anima*, III. 5. 430a25, introduces the passive intellect as perishable, and Hamlyn makes it what is responsible for ordinary intellectual functions like memory.[37]

Aristotle's active, or creative, intellect is Dante's incorruptible part of the soul. The human intellect is 'possible': that is, its powers are undeveloped, potential, as opposed to the completely 'actualized' angelic intellect. But how did the intellect get into the soul? It must be from outside. In *Monarchia*, I. 3. 6 –9, Dante speaks of the 'possible intellect', by which he means the total intellectual power of the human race at one time, crediting Averroës for the view that there must be as many humans on earth as were necessary to embody the full potential of the possible intellect (see *Monarchia*, II. 6. 6).[38] Averroës believed that the possible intellect was never joined to matter, and in 1270, Aquinas criticized him for this, attacking the idea of a single intellect, which in itself presupposes no personal immortality for the human.[39] Statius's Aquinian critique of Averroës (*Purg.*, XV. 61–66) has already been mentioned: Averroës found no place for the possible intellect, and so he assumed it came from outside. For Statius (XXV. 67–75), the

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[36] John M. Rist, 'Notes on Aristotle's *De anima* 3.5', *Classical Philology*, 61 (1961), 8–20 (p. 19).

[37] Aristotle, *De anima*, trans. by Hamyln, pp. 140–41: 'the passive intellect is perishable, and without his [the active intellect] thinks nothing'.

[38] On the 'refutation' of *Monarchia* by Guido Vernani, which saw it as Averroist, see Anthony K. Cassell, *The Monarchia Controversy* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), though this study is spoiled by its dogmatism (starting with the date of *Monarchia*, pp. 3 and 203).

[39] See Edward P. Mahoney, 'Aquinas's Critique of Averroës's Doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect', in *Thomas Aquinas and his Legacy*, ed. by David M. Gallagher (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), pp. 83–106.

soul is breathed into by God, including both forms of intellect, the active intellect, which is a faculty inherent in the whole soul, and the possible intellect.[40] But if *Monarchia* is subsequent to both *Purgatorio* and *Convivio*, it seems that there is a later playing with the other Averroistic possibility in Dante, constituting a further textual ambiguity.[41] To these divisions we now turn.

Confession in 'Purgatorio'

Reference to the Earthly Paradise invokes *Purgatorio*, and its spatial divisions, which answer to states of the soul, states of virtue and vice, as much as *Inferno* XI shows these to exist in the first *cantica*. To begin thinking about this space, requires discussion of the implications of the doctrine of Purgatory. Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* discusses the impact of the Third Lateran Council of 1215 while writing a history of how subjectivity has been constituted in Western discourse. This council formally required of everyone annual confession, and the intensification of confessional practices since then means that, for Foucault, 'western man has become a confessing animal'.[42] Less than fifty years earlier, according to Jacques Le Goff in *The Birth of Purgatory*, a doctrine of Purgatory had been articulated, whose effects would make sin something to be retained in the memory, placing therefore a new and growing emphasis on present-day confession and penitentialism. Le Goff sees several new changes in thought brought in by a conception of Purgatory, including a new sense of historical memory, requiring a thinking back to recall ancestors, who might have lived over a period of a hundred years before. The development of a new sense of memory creates a new sense of chronological narrative.

Le Goff, discussing 'The Logic of Purgatory', sees new concepts of sin and penance being mobilized: penance being now repeated several times in a person's life. Sin is newly categorized, in particular by fleshing out distinctions between mortal and venial sins, a distinction deriving from I John 5. 16–17 distinguishing between a sin unto death and one not. Le Goff says that the term *venial* — including the sense 'worthy of *venia*', that is, worthy of pardon — reached

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[40] On these lines see Boyde's *Dante: Philosopher and Philomythes*, pp. 276–79 and 376.

[41] For Dante as using the thesis of Averroës poetically, creatively, see Étienne Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy*, trans. by David Moore (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1968), pp. 166–71.

[42] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, I: *An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), p. 59.

common use in the later twelfth century.[43] He traces a new development whereby instead of the binary distinction between heaven and hell, and saved and damned, and eternity and time, there were now ternary positions: the time of Purgatory, neither that of eternity nor of earthly time, but far longer, and requiring the acquisition of a new form of memory to be thought with, the category of sinners who were neither saved nor damned, new positions which the binary terms of theologians could not quite accommodate:

> The twelfth century saw the enrichment of memory. The great beneficiaries of this were, of course, the aristocratic families, which compiled their genealogies, and extended them even farther back in time. Death was less and less a frontier. Purgatory became an annex of the earth and extended the time of life and of memory. Suffrages [prayers for the dead] became an increasingly active business. And the revival of the last will and testament also helped push back the frontier of death.[44]

Dante's *Purgatorio* is paradigmatic for Le Goff, as the text where the doctrine of Purgatory receives its justification, and becomes significant in those points where memory and narrative intersect and become richer, where there is a sense of the power of the affective life and where it seems possible to note distinctions within people's interior lives. In the central section of *Purgatorio*, Dante and Virgil meet souls marked off by one or other of the seven deadly sins, which they confess to, and which give them character. They have been subjects to individual affective states, vices, which have defined them, they are allegories, since they illustrate these particular vices, and they are subjects in Foucault's sense, given an individuality by the sins to which they confess. Emotions have been historicized by being related to people, while subjects have been individuated by affective states.

The divisions of *Purgatorio* are articulated in Canto XVII, line 70, after the third cornice, on the evening of the second night in Purgatory. Three cornices are seen in one day, cornices five to seven the next; the fourth cornice, for *acedia*, is seen at night. Dante asks about the cornice that is to be encountered. Virgil tells him that they are about to come across those who were slow in their love. This, with his use to Dante of the word *figliuol* (l. 92), showing love in action, leads to discussion about love, both natural and of the mind: spontaneous and conscious. The natural cannot go wrong, but the other may be diverted through an evil object, or through too little or too much vigour. The division is enunciated in XVII. 94–96, 97–102, concluding that love must be the seed of both every

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[43] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 216–17.

[44] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p. 233.

virtue and every deed deserving punishment. Self-hatred and hatred of God cannot be, but it is possible to err in love towards the neighbour:

> È chi, per esser suo vicin soppresso
> spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama
> ch'el sia di sua grandezza in basso messo:
>   è chi podere, grazia, onore e fama
> teme di perder perch'altri sormonti,
> onde s'attrista sì che 'l contrario ama;
>   ed è chi per ingiuria par ch'aonti,
> sì che si fa de la vendetta ghiotto,
>   e tal convien che 'l male altrui impronti.
>   (XVII. 115–23)

(There is he who, through abasement of his neighbour hopes for excellence, and only thirsts for this, that he be cast down from his greatness; there is he who fears to lose power, grace, honour and fame through someone else surmounting, so that he makes himself sad so that he loves the opposite, and there is he who seems to be so ashamed through an injury that he becomes greedy of revenge, and it suits such that he seeks the hurt of another.)

Ecellence comes from the Latin *cellere*, 'to rise high', 'to tower'. Hope of excelling does not become pride unless there is a desire (the word *brama* links pride with gluttony) to bring another down from a position of pride. Boyde shows that Virgil's definition of pride seems better to fit envy,[45] and indeed it seems that someone cannot excel save by someone else being cast down from a position whose height recalls the gigantic figures cast down who are depicted in *Purgatorio* XII. Pride's visual nature is emphasized by Virgil: it exists in a context of height and depth, of being brought down to earth, like the towering giants whose fall to earth is depicted on the floor of the cornice of Pride. Lester K. Little shows how Pride was illustrated by a knight falling off his horse, bringing together both the feudal nature of pride (as opposed to avarice) and the visual contrast between high and low positions.[46] Pride, then, is masculine, though in allegorical representations, is often female.

Similarly, envy in the next *terzina* is fear of loss of power, grace, honour, and, significantly, fame. Only the proud person can be envious; it happens by a process

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[45] Patrick Boyde, *Human Vices and Human Worth in Dante's 'Comedy'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 190.

[46] Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 16–49 (pp. 34–37).

of becoming sad (*s'attrista*). Pride and envy have been put together as associated with the intellective appetite, the will. The envious are described as having intelligence clouded (*Purg.*, XIII. 88–90), and their penance is to do with sight, the most theory-driven sense.

Envy, first identified as one of the capital vices by Gregory, as third in the list of evil tendencies, after pride and anger, has now been narrativized as the second sin.[47] It produces anger, which is linked with greed (again gluttony) for vengeance, and desire to see the other suffer. Relationships are with the neighbour (*vicin*) but then with the other ('altri', l. 119; 'altrui', l. 123). The proud person cannot bear a position of dependence on the other; the envious fears the other, and the angry person fears that he has been shamed by the other. But pride, envy, and anger are described in the terms of the last four sins: *acedia*, gluttony, greed, and lust (*ama*).

The place accorded to excellence, greatness, power, grace, honour, and fame will be noted: shame relates to the loss of these things. Desiring the neighbour's fall, or loving it when the other is humiliated, or wanting vengeance on the other are three forms of love, or desire, which are mourned for ('si piange', l. 125) below. What follows is less malicious: striving for a good where the mind may find rest (the language recalls the *Confessions*, I. 1):

> Se lento amor a lui veder vi tira,
> o a lui acquistar, questa cornice,
> dopo giusto penter, ve ne martira.
>   Altro ben è che non fa l'uom felice;
> non è felicità, non è la bona
> essenza, d'ogne ben frutto e radice.
>   L'amore ch'ad esser troppo s'abbandona,
> di sovr'a noi si piange per tre cerchi;
> ma come tripartito si ragiona,
>   tacciolo, acciò che tu per te ne cerchi.
>
>   (ll. 130–39)

(If slow love in seeing it draws you, or gaining it, this cornice, after just penitence, torments you for it. There is another good which does not make man happy; it is not happiness, it is not the good essence, root and fruit of all good. The love, that abandons itself too much for this is wept for above us through three circles, but how it is distinguished in three parts, I am silent, so that you may search it for yourself.)

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[47] On envy/anger relationships, see W. Gerrod Parrott, 'The Emotional Experiences of Envy and Jealousy', in *The Psychology of Jealousy and Envy*, ed. by Peter Salovey (New York: Guildford, 1991), pp. 10–11.

Sloth is distinguished from the lower three circles, and from the upper three, which are treated as a unity, but again, the language shows the dominance of what belongs to melancholia: since the words 'si piange' (l. 137) reappear.

Virgil's discourse prompts the question from Dante of what love is, 'a cui reduci | ogne buono operare e 'l suo contraro' (to which you reduce every good work and its opposite, XVIII. 14, 15). Defining love, Virgil uses love in the definition, circling round repeated and interlocking words, love, pleasure, turning, inclination. So there is 'amar', 'amor' (ll. 19, 26), and 'piace', 'piacere' (ll. 20, 21, 27), and 'volgo', 'rivolto' (ll. 24, 25), and 'piega', 'piegare' (ll. 25, 26). Each word becomes a synonym for each other, ending with the idea that 'quel piegare è amor' (that leaning is love) — that inclination being within the mind (l'animo', l. 19), or the 'apprensiva' (l. 22). The sense of the mind running after what is presented to it comes from Canto XVI, lines 85–93; what comes from the external world is grasped by the *fantasia*, or *sensus communis*, and by the *imaginatio*. The power of the *fantasia* appears in XVII. 13–18, when Dante apostrophizes 'immaginativa' — the power of the *fantasia*, which is said to receive images from heaven, not from the five senses.[48] The conclusion of the first part of the talk is that 'l'animo preso entra in disire' (the mind, captured, enters into desire, l. 31); desire being a new state for the mind now 'taken'. Yet Virgil adds that not every object of love is good. His second discussion (ll. 46–75) begins with the intellectual, or rational soul, distinct from matter and in union with it: here discussion of the possible intellect will be recalled, and how this relates to the third rational soul, but giving character to the complete soul (vegetative and sensitive and rational). It is a specific virtue, but it is not seen of itself, except by its effects, 'as life in a plant by its green leaves':

> Però, là, onde vegna lo 'ntelletto
> de le prime notizie, omo non sape,
> e de' primi appetibili l'affetto
>   che sono in voi sì come studio in ape
> di far lo mele; e questa prima voglia
> merto di lode or di biasmo non cape.
>   Or perché a questa ogn' altra si raccogha
> innata v'è la virtu che consiglia,
> e de l'assenso de' tener la soglia.

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[48] See on this 'image-forming faculty', Kenelm Foster, 'The Human Spirit in Action: *Purgatorio* XVII', in *The Two Dantes and Other Studies* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977), pp. 110–12. See also *Con.*, III. 4. 9.

Quest'è il principio là onde si piglia
ragion di meritate in voi, secondo
che buoni e rei amori accoglie e viglia.
    Color che ragionando andaro al fondo,
s'accorser d'esta innata liberate;
però moralità lasciaro al mondo.
    Onde, poniam che di necessitate
surga ogne amore che dentro a voi s'accende,
di ritenerlo è in voi la podestate.
    La nobile virtù Beatrice intende
per lo libero arbitrio, e però guarda
che l'abbi a mente, s'a parlar ten prende.

(ll. 62–74)

(Therefore, whence comes the knowledge of the first notions, man does not know, nor the affect for the first objects of desire, which are in you as zeal in bees to make honey, and this first will does not admit deserving of praise or blame. Innate in you in the virtue that counsels and that ought to hold the threshold of assent. This is the principle there whence is taken reason of merit in you, following as you collect and discard good and evil loves. Those who, reasoning, went to the foundations took note of this innate freedom, so that they left ethics to the world. So let us grant that, given that of necessity every love rises in you that is lit inside you, the power to keep it is in you. This noble virtue Beatrice understands as free will, and therefore take care to have this in mind, if she takes to speak to you of it.)[49]

There is already in the self a knowledge of the 'first notions', and the desire (*l'affetto*) for the 'first desirables'. These are innate, like the 'studio' — desire, inclination — of bees to make honey. The *first* notions and the *first* desirables are outside the self, but the *first* will (l. 59) is inside, activating intellect and affect. It is not possible to say whether the notions attract the intellect or the intellect the notions: nor whether the objects of appetite attract the affects, or the affects the objects. There is no 'first' here: the intellect and the affects are already mobilized; no precise object can be denoted as the first. If it is not possible to say whether an object of appetite attracts an affect, or an affect creates an object of appetite, then the word *affect* seems appropriate, meaning desire, will towards, appetite, affection, as that which is created inside by something outside and is also inside moving towards the outside, as 'la mia anima, cioè lo mio affetto' (*Con.*, III. 3. 14) — my

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[49] Patrick Boyde, *Perception and Passion in Dante's 'Comedy'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 214, translates 'libero arbitrio' as 'free judgement'.

soul, which is my affect.[50] The word *studio*, used in the image of the bees, combines in it the idea of study, and so of cognition, and also of affect: it is a primal will.

Supplementary to this will is another, ruling the appetites. Virgil makes 'liberate', 'podestate', 'nobile virtú', and 'libero arbitrio' synonymous as expressions of its capacity: it has power to make conformable all other wills (*ogn' altra*). This innate free will has acquired added significance from the time of those who wrote ethics in classical times (the next chapter, on *Purgatorio* I shows how Cato, as a pagan Roman, understood free will) to the time of Beatrice, who here seems synonymous with new, modern wisdom, as well as being the object of Dante's affect. Marco Lombardo has discussed free will in Canto XVI, lines 64–83, associating it with the possession of mind, 'mente' (l. 81), and Beatrice's words on free will in *Paradiso*, V. 19–22, are quoted, and supplemented in *Monarchia*, I. 12. 2–6, which proclaims the absoluteness of free will, as controlling desire (appetite). Yet the idea of free will can only be presented by Virgil in language which presupposes standing outside the situation where other wills hold sway. His language is deliberately philosophical, as indicated by such words as *onde* and *poniam*. Marco Lombardo, in XVI. 74, with 'posto ch'i 'l dica' similarly presents a formal argument. But that language, which weighs objections from a outside position, is necessary to sustain the idea of free will: only through such a meta-language can the language which supports the idea of an independent arbiter such as free will, outside other affects, be sustained. But if the will is an affect, such a unique place for the will cannot be granted.

Virgil's rationale for the seven capital vices and their order varies from Evagrius, Cassian, Gregory, or Hugh of St Victor, and must be compared with what appears in the cantos of the capital vices. Pride in Virgil leaves out forms of religious pride, such as are shown in the examples of the gigantomachia. Anger is solely that which responds to an insult directed against the self; it borrows from Aristotle, but has no room for the idea of fieriness of temper, or anger, which is self-induced. Virgil sees sloth as a form of slow love, but says nothing about *acedia* as a motiveless depressive force. He does not distinguish avarice, gluttony, and lust, perhaps so that Dante should make the distinction himself, but perhaps because he takes less interest in them (his increasing withdrawal from interaction with the souls on these upper cornices is noteworthy). His account of envy is, like the other sins, materialistic, assuming that there is an objective richness in the

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[50] See Domenico Consoli, 'Affetto', in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. by Umberto Bosco, 6 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1970–78), I, 69–70.

other which the self is troubled by; in that, he assumes, as does his Aristotelianism generally, a cause-and-effect reality about the passions he describes in Canto XVII and the love discussed in Canto XVIII, which underplays their non-rationalism. Can love of something wrong be the cause of every deed that deserves punishment (XVII. 104–05)? And can there be no self-hatred, nor hatred of God? Virgil admits no self-division, or repression, making his argument not self-sufficient. When speaking against those who say that every act of love is laudable, that depends on accepting a rationale that allows free will to decide what is good and what is bad, which depends on a teleology which says that the mind in love desires until it reaches the object of its love. Both forms of rationale, while they appeal, are dangerous in how much they invest in acceptance of the power of rational choice. If that is not granted, how complete can Virgil's system be?

As rhetoric, his arguments attempt to persuade; they enter the text's dialogism, which means that what he says may be inadequate, as he knows (XVIII. 46–48). The Purgatorial system he announces, may be more interesting than he knows. Distinguishing between classical ethics and Beatrice, Virgil indicates the gap between two understandings, for he explains the arrangement of Purgatory rationally, not fitting with what Evagrius, or Cassian, or Gregory had said about the seven capital vices. Virgil's Purgatory is incomplete in relation to Dante's, which reads the inward nature of the affects that are punished here: in the same way, Virgil remains outside Dante's dreams.

PURGATORIO I AND II

> Per correr miglior acque alza le vele
> omai la navicella del mio ingegno,
> che lascia dietro a sé mar sì crudele;
>   e canterò di quel secondo regno
> dove l'umano spirito si purga
> e di salire al ciel diventa degno.
>   Ma qui la morta poesì resurga
> O sante Muse, poi che vostro sono;
> e qui Calïopè alquanto surga,
>   seguitando il mio canto con quel suono
> di cui le Piche misere sentiro
> lo colpo tal, che disperar perdono.
>
> <div align="right">(I. 1–12)</div>

(To run through better waters now the little ship of my wit sets sail, leaving behind it a sea so cruel. And I will sing of that second realm where the human spirit purges itself and becomes worthy to ascend up to heaven. But here let dead poetry rise again, O sacred Muses, since I am yours, and here let Calliope also rise up, following my song with that sound of which the wretched Pies so felt the stroke, that they despaired of pardon.)

Incipit

*P*urgatorio's incipit contains a buoyant confidence and positive feeling, but also records a contest, whose implications run throughout the *cantica*. The echoing anaphora and echoic rhyming within lines 7 and 9 link the reviving of dead poetry with the power of Calliope, the epic muse who must supplement Dante's song with that accompaniment that made the miserable daughters of Pierus (*Metamorphoses*, V. 294–678), so feel the blow 'che disperar perdono' (the caesura in the last line gives force to this).

This allusion requires the reader to turn to the *Metamorphoses*, where Minerva meets the Muses on Mount Helicon. One Muse says how they were threatened with rape by Pyreneus and only escaped by using their wings ('alis', *Met.*, V. 288); the only case where the Muses are ascribed wings.[1] This narrative produces the next incident, for while this Muse speaks, the sound of whirring wings is heard, and words of greeting come from the trees: these are the magpies, who go lamenting their fate. The Muse continues by telling Minerva how these magpies came to be as they were, narrates their challenge to the Muses, and how the Nymphs judged between their song and the Muses'. Without drawing lots, the leading daughter of Pieros sang of the earthborn Typhoeus, alluded to in *Inferno*, XXXI. 124, and of the gods metamorphosing into animals. In contrast, Calliope rises up ('surgit', *Met.*, V. 338) to sing of Ceres and of agriculture, of which she first gave laws (*Met.*, V. 343), and whereas the Pierides' song was reported, this song is heard directly.

The sphere of action in Ovid is Sicily, piled on top of Typhoeus's limbs, an island analogous to Dante's Purgatory, but it ends with laws established in Athens.[2] Calliope sings of the rape of Proserpine, and of the lament of Ceres. She also includes two bird-transformations as if anticipating the fates of the sisters: Ascalaphus into a screech-owl, a prophet of woe, and the daughters of Acheloüs into Sirens. It concludes with the transformation of Arethusa, who gives her own narrative of how she, to avoid rape, was plunged into the depths and received up again as a spring, into the air above (*Met.*, V. 641), in Sicily, as though prefiguring Dante.

The incipit speaks of the Piche, since that is how they are seen in Ovid, emphasizing that their metamorphosis from women to magpies was to what they already were, imitative, chattering, scandal-mongering: producing the forms of verse that *Purgatorio* comments on, as in Canto XXVI, lines 119–26. That they are no more than imitative voices is reiterated in *De vulgari eloquentia*, I. 2. 52–66.[3] Their power is that of the echo. These Piche, 'misere', felt the power of the song so much 'che disperar perdono', which, like 'misere', echoes feelings

[1] E. J. Kenney, notes to translation of *Metamorphoses*, trans. by A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 404.

[2] On Typhoeus and Sicily, see my 'The Violence of Venus: Dante in Paradiso', *Romanic Review*, 90 (2000), 93–114.

[3] See Pamela Royston Macfie, 'Meaning and Metamorphosis: Ovidian Voices in *Purg.*, 1.7–12', in *Dante and Ovid: Essays in Intertextuality*, ed. by Madison U. Sowell (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1991), pp. 84–96.

associated with *Inferno*.[4] Bosco and Reggio's note implies that they had the sense after such a song that punishment must follow; Singleton, reconciling the words with the continued obduracy of Ovid's Pierides, quotes Torraca that this reviling indicated their despair of pardon. Both readings emphasize psychological, affective awareness, and Torraca's sense prompts the question, when, within the contest, did their self-destructive movement start? Before, prompting the aggression which starts without properly drawing lots? Or after Calliope had finished? 'Despair' as a motivating force becomes significant, implying the possibility of the dominance of powerful negating feelings, which inscribe the poetry with melancholia, and imply that they are held by a negative power of passion, so that their condemnation must follow. The exemplum opens a canto showing affective states overcome, as *Purgatorio*'s subject is pardon.

The Piche evoke the primary sin of the *cantica*: pride. The gigantomachy they sing of recurs in the engraving of Briareus on that cornice (*Purg.*, XII. 28–30). The incipit is full of a sense of risings: 'alza le vele' (l. 1), 'di salire al ciel diventa degno' (l. 6), 'resurga' (l. 7), 'surga' (l. 9), so that Cato, outside those terms, is unconsciously involved in them, when his discourse refers to the dawning sun — whose presence turns this canto into an *alba* — 'che surge omai' (l. 107). Even 'orïental' (l. 13) comes from the Latin 'oriens', 'rising'.[5] The canto ends with the rush, which 'si rinacque' (l. 135) in the place where Virgil pulled it up. These references give more point to 'l'umano spirito' (l. 5), whose life is sensed in the phrase 'la navicella del mio ingegno' and in the declaration of what Dante will do — 'e canterò' (l. 4), succeeded by 'il mio canto' (l. 10). Dante aligns his poetry with the idea of the soul becoming worthy — as the cornice of pride puts poetry at its centre (XI. 97–99). There is the implication that the 'umano spirito' becomes nameable — and capable of knowing itself through the power of poetry, so becoming capable of pride, which is, however, inseparable from melancholia and despair.

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[4] 'Misere' and 'disperar' recall Ugolino: 'disperato dolor che mi preme' and 'tu ne vestiti | Queste misere carni' (*Inf.*, XXXIII. 5 and 63–64). 'Perdono' and its cognates appears almost solely in *Purgatorio*, but see *Inf.*, V. 104, and *Para.*, XXIV. 120. See *Purg.*, III. 120, V. 21, V. 55 (sinners pardoning violence done to them), XI. 17 (twice, in a context of mutual pardoning), XIII. 42, where the end of the cornice is the 'passo del perdono', the pass of pardon, XV. 113 (Stephen praying for his murderers), XVIII. 116 (the slothful asking Dante's pardon), XXII. 19 (Virgil asking pardon of Statius). The Piche show their difference from what *Purgatorio* offers.

[5] See Caron Ann Cioffi, '"Dolce color d'orïental zaffiro": A Gloss on *Purgatorio* 1.13', *Modern Philology*, 82 (1985), 355–64.

Poetry, too, the incipit suggests, must separate itself from imitation: the Piche are imitative and threaten with the power of imitation, since, imprisoned as birds, they parody the idea that the creation of poetry and the soul's rising up are equal, and aligned, forces. Nonetheless, the separation implied between two forms of poetry may not be as clear as that implies. Perhaps, as Paul de Man suggests, an echo is not separate, but part of the 'original' statement it seems to echo.[6] Since Calliope as the Muse is asked to rise and accompany Dante's 'canto', her music must echo his, as if it is not possible to think of a single, originary voice (the Muse should inspire Dante, but here Dante inspires the Muse).

Perhaps, too, the contest may not be as simple as described. It has been argued that Ovid, in not giving the Pierides' songs, prejudges them: they lose because of an imposition of authority.[7] Then *Metamorphoses* indicates the presence of an injustice within its text, and not just in its narratives, and these cannot but carry through into Dante, so making distinction between the good and the bad, the genuine and the mendacious, the true and the merely echoing, difficult, making more complex all forms of affect that the 'umano spirito' feels.

Further, as the Siren appears singing in Canto XIX's dream, so the loss of Proserpina, — part of Calliope's song — who was restored to her mother for half the year, re-echoes with Matelda (*Purg.*, XXVIII. 49–51). It is as if what Calliope's song absorbs is marked in Dante, whose incipit includes within it the memory of the song and a response to it, and it perhaps explains the word *alquanto*, which qualifies what Calliope represents. She may contrast with the 'sante Muse', rather than be one of them. More than Calliope's song, Dante's poetry keeps more the sense of its relation to loss, in which case, the episode of Calliope and the daughters who despaired of pardon may dramatize a problem which is obscurely felt in the incipit to the canto and the *cantica*: the fear of poetic language becoming echolalia: that there is nothing but the echo. Calliope's song cannot resolve the losses it records, and that the Piche are imprisoned makes these birds signifiers of a poetry which is caught by the inability to move out of loss. The contest is a record of the impossibility of poetry completing itself, of sustaining meaning without exclusion, or of there being a poetry which excludes loss. Of course, loss has been experienced before, in *Inferno*'s 'mar sì crudele'. But now, there is the hope for a poetry which has risen again. Can this poetry, which has judged so many affective states, also keep its power of affect? The chattering of

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[6] Paul de Man's 'The Task of the Translator', cited in Rainer Nägele, *Echoes of Translation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 34.

[7] See Stephen M. Wheeler, *A Discourse of Wonders: Audience and Performance in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 82–84.

the Piche, their despair, their mourning, remains as a residue not quite absorbed into the song of the Muses.[8] The comparison implies more than triumph: it supplements this in implying the power of loss.

Images of Virtues

Lines 13–27 begin framing, or defining, the human spirit through further signs: the sweet colour of the oriental sapphire in the sky that gave delight to the eyes, the beautiful planet that incites to love which made all the orient laugh. (The line links with the art that smiles, discussed in the cornice of the proud, XI. 82.) Dante's body is involved as he turns to the right (to the south) to see the other pole, 'e vidi quattro stelle | non viste mai furo ch'a la prima gente' (I. 23–24). The absence of these four stars — their sign-value rather than the virtues they signify — 'widows' the northern region by darkening it; widowing recalling Lamentations 1. 1 on the fall of Jerusalem: 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! how is she become as a widow!' This 'widowing', creating loss, imposes a task upon the poetry, which must re-signify what the four stars represent. The passage names neither Venus, nor the stars, which have not been seen save by the 'prima gente', which makes them the stars to illuminate the non-fallen 'umano spirito'. They are alluded to again in Canto VIII, lines 91–92, as being low because they have given place to a further three stars which 'son salite' (have arisen) in their place. The four virtues reappear as purple-clad women in Canto XXIX, lines 130–32, succeeding the vision of the 'tre donne in giro' of XXIX. 121, Charity (red), Hope (emerald), and Faith (white). Prudence leads the four, with three eyes in her head, following an iconographic tradition that links Prudence with past, present, and future.[9] And the women reappear in Canto XXXI, lines 104–05 covering Dante with their arms, saying that they were ordained to be the handmaids of Beatrice, and that 'noi siam qui ninfe et nel ciel siamo stelle' (XXXI. 106).[10] The four cardinal virtues lead to the three theological ones; this

[8] See John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981).

[9] Erwin Panofsky, 'Titian's *Allegory of Prudence*: A Postscript', in his *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 181–205. On the use of Lamentations in Dante, see my 'Thinking Melancholy: Allegory and the *Vita nuova*', *Romanic Review*, 96 (2005), 85–105. In this canto, Cato is like Jeremiah, as Marzia is the figure of the widow.

[10] See Charles Singleton, 'Rivers, Nymphs, and Stars', in his *Journey to Beatrice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958), pp. 159–83.

seems evident from *Purgatorio*, XXXI. 109–11, and from Ripheus (*Para.*, XX. 127–29). Yet that historic order seems reversed if the three virtues, though subsequent to the first four, are needed for their restoration, as though an 'original state' can only be reached by going through to the end of an historical process and starting again.

The cardinal virtues derived from Plato (*Republic*, IV. 427d–434d); *Phaedo*, 69b, distinguished four virtues of the soul: wisdom, courage, self-restraint, and justice. They were expanded in significance by the Stoics, and especially by Cicero in *De officiis*, a text which made them practical, virtues which related to the community. In *Tusculan Disputations*, II. 18. 43, Cicero masculinized the virtues when he linked the word 'virtue' (*virtus*) with the strength (*vis*) and the quality of being a man (*vir*), but this was not part of a praising of virtue as action, so much as of the capacity to suffer. In Cicero (*De officiis*, I. 5–42), Wisdom became Prudence, Justice was aligned with liberality, Fortitude or courage — that quality so essential for Boethius, who praises self-sufficiency — with magnanimity. The fourth virtue, Temperance, became the concept of the fitting. All virtues were linked to reason, which produced them.[11]

Ambrose declared these virtues 'cardinal', relating them to the four rivers of Paradise, to the Four Prophets, the Four Evangelists, and the Four Doctors of the Church, and made Fortitude the loftiest virtue, in this, not following Cicero. He also made the virtues gifts of divine grace. Following Ambrose, Gregory the Great saw them as sustaining the self against the seven capital sins.[12] In *Convivio*, IV. 22. 11, these virtues are named by Dante not as the cardinal virtues, but as practical, not contemplative, activities of the mind, just as, in *Convivio*, IV. 17. 4–6, discussed in the previous chapter, they were seen as moral virtues.[13] Moral and

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[11] See discussions in P. G. Walsh's translation of *De officiis*, as *On Obligations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. xviii–xxi, 8–51, 130; and M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins's translation, *On Duties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. xxii–xxv.

[12] Selma Pfeiffenberger, *The Iconology of Giotto's Virtues and Vices at Padua* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), IV. 1. 2. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1939), p. 30. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, I. 50, PL, XVI, col. 106.

[13] The two systems, of moral and intellectual virtues, derived from Aristotle, and the cardinal virtues and the theological, are not quite reconcilable; e.g., Dante notes the dual status of Prudence, *Con.*, IV. 17. 8, which Aristotle makes an intellectual virtue, but which Dante in IV. 22. 11 considers more a moral, alongside the other cardinal virtues. Nor, incidentally, would the Stoic system accept that the moral virtues were the mean between two vices; see on this Cicero on anger; see the editorial note in *On Obligations*, trans. by Walsh, p. 144: anger for the

intellectual virtues, but cast also as cardinal and theological virtues, come together in the dream of *Purgatorio*, XXVII. 94–108, of the woman gathering flowers. If Leah prefigures Matelda, who recalls Proserpina, perhaps Calliope's song of Proserpina's loss connects with the loss of these stars, whose virtue, then, becomes implicitly feminine.[14]

The stars remain after Dante turns from looking at them, since they illuminate the statue-like figure who follows:

> Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,
> degno di tanta reverenza in vista,
> che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo.
>   Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista
> portava, a' suoi capelli simigliante,
> de' quai cadeva al petto doppia lista.
>   Li raggi de le quattro luci sante
> fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume,
> ch'i' 'l vedea come 'l sole fosse davante.
>
> (ll. 31–39)

(I saw next to me an old man alone, worthy of such reverence in his appearance, that more never could a son give to his father. A long beard, mixed with white hair he wore, and like to those of his head, of which fell from there to his breast two bands. The rays of the four sacred lights filled so his face with light that I saw him as though the sun was in front of him.)

An emphasis placed by positioning on the adjective *solo*, makes this a hermit, who speaks of 'le mie grotte' (l. 48). He is unnamed, though references to Utica (l. 74) and Marzia (l. 79) indicate he is Cato, so that the canto moves towards growing clarification, like the dawn. Identifying him with the four stars increases their significance, now masculine. It also confirms Cato's allegorical presentation. He is like Moses, or Christ, in Revelation 1. 14–16; a semi-divine patriarch imposing reverence on a son, a figure whose white hair and its length implies mourning, loss,

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Peripatetic view would be a positive, but negative for Stoicism. On Aristotle's moral virtues, see Boyde, *Human Vices and Human Worth*, pp. 88–96; on the theological virtues, see ibid., pp. 120–23.

[14] See Zygmunt Barański, 'Structural Retrospection in Dante's *Comedy*: The Case of *Purgatorio* XXVII', *Italian Studies*, 41 (1986), 1–23 (p. 11) on links between *Purg.* I and XXVII. Peter Armour, 'Matelda in Eden: The Teacher and the Apple', *Italian Studies*, 34 (1979), 2–27 (p. 11), points out the traditional interpetation of flowers as virtues. John Barnes, 'Dante's Matelda: Fact or Fiction?', *Italian Studies*, 28 (1973), 1–9, compares Matelda and Cato.

and suffering for mankind. This allegorical presentation echoes an allegorical writing already within Lucan, who makes him a figure whose self-fashioning is self-allegorizing. Lucan writes of him, in the context of his receiving back Marzia for remarriage, that 'ever since the outbreak of war he had left his grey hair and beard untrimmed. He alone, who felt neither love nor hatred towards either faction, had troubled to go into mourning for mankind.'[15] The lack of love or hatred defines him as the Stoic, while at the same time he rejects his body, turning it into an allegorical sign. Re-wedded to Marzia, the same passage states, he will not have sexual relations with her, in a further sign of his austerity. Dante draws on Lucan's description, and adds the double band of hair that falls on his breast, as if implying the power of witness; allegorizing the hair as 'oneste piume' (l. 42). (The word *oneste* reappears in II. 119). The hair touches the breast, which is called the 'santo petto' (l. 80), 'santo' like the Muses (l. 8). Cato is both figural, and, as Lucan had made him, a moral allegory, where his venerable aspect associates with Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. This presentation, which emphasizes not the 'umano spirito' but four abstract qualities that go to make it up, stands out from the poem, which, as the Epistle to Can Grande says, is, in character, allegory throughout. But this personification allegory has not appeared in the *Commedia* since Limbo was seen in *Inferno* IV, an episode with which this canto bears many comparisons. Homer bears a sword (l. 86) as an iconographic detail, and the poets go into a noble castle with seven walls and through seven gates. The walls are identified with the four virtues plus wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, the gates with the liberal arts (ll. 106–11). The virtuous pagans possessed the four cardinal virtues (*Purg.*, VII. 34–36). Such a mode of allegory returns for a figure who has been in Limbo.

The Stoic Marcus Porcius Cato (95–46 BCE) supported Pompey in the Civil War, and he committed suicide at Utica in North Africa after defeat by Caesar at Thapsus, as also did Lucan (39–65 CE), his Stoic historian.[16] The reputations of Lucan (*Inf.*, IV. 88) and of 'Seneca morale' (*Inf.*, IV. 141) are intensified when Cato speaks for them. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism (*Convivio*, III. 14. 8), appears in Limbo, like Marzia, and Cicero, who praised Cato most. So does Socrates, with whom he was compared in his death (*Inf.*, IV. 138, 128, 141, 134), for example by

[15] Lucan, *Pharsalia: Dramatic Episodes of the Civil Wars*, trans. by Robert Graves (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), II. 373–74, p. 57.

[16] Debra Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 231–46, compares the presentation of Caesar and Cato in Lucan, finding Cato's *virtus* disappearing into the opposite quality: Caesar's *furor*.

Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations*, twenty years after Cato's death. This refers to the Stoic ambiguity about whether suicide could be justified, qualifying it since:

> [W]hen God himself has given a valid reason as he did in the past to Socrates, and in our day to Cato [...] then of a surety your true wise man will joyfully pass from the darkness here into the light beyond. All the same he will not break the bonds of his prison-house [*carceris*] — the laws forbid it — but as if obedience to a magistrate or some lawful authority, he will pass out at the summons and release of God. For the whole life of the philosopher, as the same wise man says, is a preparation for death.[17]

The language of much of this quotation with its severity and sense of loss, reappears in *Purgatorio* I.

Because Cato was a pagan, a suicide, and an opposer of Caesar, he seems an impossible figure for salvation: in dignifying him, in contrast to, for example, Brutus, another Stoic, suicide, and opponent of Caesar (*Inf.*, XXXIV. 65), Dante writes against Augustine, who though praising Cato's virtue (*City of God*, V. 12), criticized his suicide, which Seneca had praised (*City of God*, I. 23, *Epistulae morales*, XXIV). Cato's death was the source of contention. In the chapter of *City of God*, V. 18, headed 'Seeing that the Romans achieved so much for their earthly city, to win glory from men, Christians should shun any boasting about anything they have done for love of their Eternal Country', there is no mention of Cato amongst the roll call of virtuous Romans. Augustine summarizes the four cardinal virtues in *City of God*, and then accuses Cato of lack of fortitude in killing himself:

> Was it by patient endurance that Cato took his own life? Was it not rather through a lack of it? For he would not have so acted had he not been unable to endure Caesar's victory. What happened, then, to his fortitude? Why, it yielded, it succumbed. It was so thoroughly defeated that it abandoned this 'happy life'; it deserted and fled. Or was it a happy life no longer? If so, it was a wretched life. Then how can it be that those circumstances were not evil, if they made life a misery from which a man should escape? (XIX. 4, p. 922)

As if against Augustine, *Convivio*, IV. 5. 16, praises the 'sacratissimo petto di Catone' as an example of the worthiness of the Romans and eulogizes Stoicism in the following chapter and its 'rigida onestade' (IV. 6. 9–10; cf. *Purg.*, I. 42).[18] Another reference to Cato, in IV. 27. 16, in relation to old age, develops in IV. 28. 13–19, where Marzia is allegorized as the noble soul who, as the widow

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[17] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I. 73, p. 87. The 'wise man' is Plato, *Phaedo*, 67d.

[18] See David Thompson, 'Dante's Virtuous Romans', *Dante Studies*, 96 (1978), 145–62. On 'onestade' see Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, II, 241.

of her second husband Hortensius, returns to God, 'E quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone? Certo, nullo' (And what earthly man was more worthy to signify God than Cato? Certainly, no one, IV. 28. 15). Having allegorized Marzia's dialogue with Cato, the passage concludes with Cato having 'li segni de la nobilitade'. *Convivio* makes no reference to Cato's suicide, but *Monarchia*, II. 5. 15, praises 'the most stern guardian of liberty, Marcus Cato' who, 'in order to set the world afire with love of freedom, showed the value of freedom when he preferred to die a free man rather than remain alive without freedom'. The passage quotes Cicero's *De officiis*, I. 31. 112, as if countering Augustine's criticism of Cato, which was part of a critique of Stoicism, and *apatheia*, since, Augustine said, Christian doctrine 'subordinates the mind itself to God, to be governed and succoured by him, and puts the passions into the keeping of the mind, to be so regulated and restrained as to be converted into servants of righteousness' (*City of God*, IX. 5). Indeed, Stoicism repeats the sin of Adam, who 'when he takes delight in his own self-sufficiency [...] falls away from the One who truly suffices him' (XIV. 13). This is the antithesis of what Cicero, discussing temperance, the fourth virtue, had said, in *De officiis*, I. 3, in words quoted by Dante: '[S]ince nature had bestowed on Cato an austerity beyond belief, and he had strengthened it with unfailing constancy, and had always persisted in any resolve or plan he had undertaken, it was fitting that he should die rather than set eyes on the face of the tyrant.'[19]

Cato's speech alludes to the 'cieco fiume' (blind flood, l. 40), and 'pregione etterna' (eternal prison, l. 41) and to 'la profonda notte | che sempre nera fa la valle inferna' (the profound night that always makes the valley black, ll. 44–45). He knows the power of law and of punishment, and the impossibility of replying affirmatively to his question (the third of four): 'Son i leggi d'abisso così rotte?' (Are the laws of the abyss thus broken? l. 46). This classical figure is identified with law itself; in *Aeneid*, VIII. 670, there is the reference to the good in the underworld and to Cato giving them laws. Dante's text makes him and his Stoicism the expression of other unbreakable laws.

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[19] Dante, *Monarchy*, II. 5. 17, trans. by Shaw, p. 43. For *Monarchia*, II. 5, see Theodore Silverstein, 'On the Genesis of *De Monarchia* II.v', in *Dante in America: The First Two Centuries*, ed. by A. Bartlett Giammati (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1983), pp. 187–218, and Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory*, pp. 69–84. See also Gino Rizzo, 'Dante and the Virtuous Pagans', in *A Dante Symposium*, ed. by William de Sua and Gino Rizzo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 115–40.

Virgil follows the speech by his own reverence, enforced on Dante, 'con parole e con mani e con cenni' (with words and with hands and with gestures, l. 50) and acknowledges the force of Cato's will (l. 55), telling him that the souls purge themselves under his jurisdiction (l. 66, 'purgan', echoes l. 5). Later, Virgil speaks of Purgatorio's 'sette regni' (l. 82), using allegorical abstractions which are absolutes: 'virtù' (l. 68), 'libertà' (l. 71), 'vita' (l. 72), and 'morte' (l. 74):

> de l'alto scende virtù che m'aiuta
> conducerlo a vederti e a udirti.
>   Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta:
> libertà va cercando, ch'è sì cara,
> come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
>   Tu 'l sai, ché non ti fu lei amara
> in Utica la morte, ove lasciasti
> la vesta ch'al gran dì sara sì chiara.
>   (ll. 68–75)

(from on high descends a virtue that aids me to bring him to see you and to hear you. Now may it please you to favour his coming: he goes searching liberty, which is so dear, as he knows who refused life for it. You know it, for death in Utica was not bitter for you, where you left the vestment which will shine so clear at the last day.)

'Libertà', feminine (and contrasting with Marzia), placed almost halfway through the canto, allegorizes what Cato represents: political liberty (freedom from tyranny), liberty from the body and from the passions and from things external, which produces 'indifference', which is freedom: freedom from all 'agitation'.[20]

It is liberty born of freedom of the will (*Mon.*, I. 12. 2) that Cato allegorizes. For Cicero, 'the thrust and nature of the soul of man have two aspects. The first lies in the appetite (in Greek, *horme*), which pulls a man in different directions; and the second is in the reason, which teaches and expounds what we are to do, and what to avoid. Accordingly the reason commands and the appetite obeys'.[21]

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[20] Cicero, *De officiis*, I. 67; *On Duties*, p. 27. For translations, see above, n. 11.

[21] *Of Obligations*, I. 101, p. 35. Note Dante's use of 'horme', *Con.*, IV. 22. 4, as 'the natural desire of the mind'. Dante takes the word from Cicero, e.g., *De finibus*, trans. by Henry Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), V. 6. 17, p. 409, meaning 'impulse of desire'. *De officiis*, I. 28. 101, makes *horme* 'appetite', different from reason. Griffin and Atkins, *On Duties*, differentiate Cicero from orthodox Stoics, who did not divide the soul into potentially conflicting parts. 'For them, to act incorrectly, or to experience passions is the result of an error of judgment about what is desirable, impulse automatically follows the judgement of reason, and virtue is a matter of knowledge, not of ruling obedient impulses' (p. 40). They recall that Stoics regarded passions as arising out of false perceptions of the present and the future (p. 28).

Posidonius (*c.* 135–*c.* 51 BCE), discussed in Chapter 2, the Stoic who began in Athens and finished in Rome, considered an affect (*pathos*) as an 'excessive impulse', outside reason.[22] In the context of the canto, liberty includes the pardon that the Piche despaired of obtaining, so that it also implies the power of a liberated poetry. A few lines further on it includes the liberty that Cato has from the claims of the widowed Marzia, of whom Virgil speaks as if she were, in death, still wanting to be married to Cato.

Cato rebukes this use of Marzia. Virgil, while saying that the eternal edicts have not been broken, tries to go beyond law to feelings, saying that he will take thanks ('grazie', l. 83) back from him to her; but Cato holds him to the power of law (l. 89):

> 'Marzia piacque tanto a li occhi miei
> mentre ch'i fu di là', diss'elli allora,
> 'che quante grazie volse da me, fei.
>   Or che di là dal mal fiume dimora,
> più muover non mi può, per quella legge
> che fatta fu quando me n'usci' fora'.
>   (ll. 85–90)

('Marzia so pleased my eyes when I was down there', he said then, 'that whatever grace she wished from me I did. Now that she dwells down there beyond the evil river, she has not power to move me, by that law which was made when I came forth from it'.)

Released from Limbo, Cato makes no reference to the person (Christ) who took him out. Law binds him from any present love now to Marzia; his language contrasting with Samson (Judges 14. 3); nothing now can appeal to his eyes. Separate from her, she is a figure of loss, while he is forever 'solo'. Before, whatever 'grazie' (his word responds to Virgil's word) she willed of him he did. But he has turned away from vision, and the 'mal fiume' and the 'legge' separate him from the name of the woman, from memory and from feeling. In this rejection of humanistic values, including family, Marzia, art, Virgil's rhetoric, and fame, and Virgil himself (another Limbo figure, with Marzia), there are anticipations of the dismissals of fame on the canto of Pride, and the disappearance of Virgil. It is enough that a lady from Heaven (not Limbo) moves and directs (l. 91).

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[22] See Mark Morford, *The Roman Philosophers: From the Time of Cato the Censor to the Death of Marcus Aurelius* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 31; cf. p. 246 for the difference from Plato, *Republic*, IV. 434e–444e, for whom, it will be remembered, the irrational parts of the soul are *thymoeides* (spirited, irascible) and *epithymetikon* (desiring).

Cato

Virgil's words bring out an ambiguity within what Cato represents. Because he desires liberty, he is not its personification; he is the opposite, figuring written law, which would bar the souls who come up from the inferno. His status is dual, watching that no one comes out of the blind prison; keeping watch over Purgatory, as if ambiguously poised between two spheres of confinement. Seeking liberty, this figure of the will remains outside it, for an act of suicide may be seen both to achieve liberty, and to fail of its purpose. The Cambridge editors of *De officiis*, responding also to the already-quoted comment on Cato that Cicero makes in *Tusculan Disputations*, note that 'Cato himself felt that what he did was not appropriate for his companions in the same external situation of being defeated by Caesar at Utica [...] but that, as accepting pardon would be dishonourable *for him*, death would secure his moral freedom'.[23] The exceptionalism, justifying Cato, could just as easily evoke despair. For Richard Sorabji, Cato provides the closest ancient analogue 'to the modern notion of authenticity', which by stressing his uniqueness makes his appearance in Dante even more evidence of a crisis and contradiction in the text.[24] His existence as an allegorical personification, like his legalism, fixes him in a mode the opposite of freedom, for he can only be the unmoving embodiment of abstract virtues, incapable of changing. And this, which means that an allegorical figure cannot signify liberty, asks the question: apart from taking up the allegorical hints in Lucan, why does Dante write Cato so allegorically?

In *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero, mourning his daughter, quotes Zeno (*c.* 334–262 BCE) for a definition of disorder as 'pathos', saying that this, which he calls 'sickness' (*morbus*) and 'disturbance of mind' (*perturbatio mentis*),[25] is 'an agitation of the soul alien from right reason and contrary to nature'. He says that other philosophers define disorder (*perturbatio*) as 'a violent longing, but by too violent they mean the longing which is removed too far from the equability of nature' (IV. 6). This, as said in Chapter 2, makes him classify emotions as 'disorders' — distress (*lupê* — become *aegritudo*), fear (*phobus* — become *metus*), appetite (*epithumia* — become *libido*), and pleasure (*hêdonê* — become *voluptas*). The last two have to do with the prospect of what is good, the other

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[23] Cicero, *On Duties*, p. 44.

[24] Sorabji, *Emotion*, p. 250.

[25] M. R. Wright, '"Ferox uirtis": Anger in Virgil's *Aeneid* ', in *Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, ed. by Braund and Gill, pp. 169–84 (p. 183).

two originate in what is evil, what causes distress (IV. 6). Within these four are numerous individual passions (IV. 11), and the *Tusculan Disputations* centres on grief, as part of *aegritudo*.[26]

City of God continues with this list, save for using *tristitia* instead of *dolor* or *aegritudo*, and *cupiditas* as a general word for desire, rather than *libido* which is more restricted, and *laetitia* (joy) rather than *voluptas*.[27] While Stoicism advocates *apatheia*, Lucan's Cato evokes mourning, melancholia that refuses the sexual, and suicide as an act of mourning, because it records defeat, and is allegorical, since it makes the body an image, a sign. Cato is emotional in order to show the triumph of *apatheia*, and kills himself to assert the power of liberty. There are contradictions here, because Cato's stiffness, legality, and absence of affect express something missing within his allegorical mode. The allegory shows a constraint at work, something not fulfilled, so that Cato vanishes when he has finished speaking (l. 109), as if effacing himself (as his suicide was a literal, and, Erich Auerbach would say, a figural effacement), so that something else emerges: the need to take another way, as with *Inferno*, I. 91, to displace one mode of writing by another. Suicide, placed at the beginning of *Purgatorio* is an ambiguous form of liberty, taking liberty by ending its possibility, taking it away. It is not a question of what Dante thought of suicide, or of the apparent inconsistency of this canto with *Inferno* XIII; there were suicides in Limbo, such as Lucretia (whose suicide *City of God*, I. 19, criticizes) and Seneca (*Inf.*, IV. 128, 141). Suicide as an act cannot be read one way, being either a loss proposed as a gain, or a gain proposed as a loss. It seems allegorical, where allegory is inseparable from law, keeping intact laws already broken; showing that suicide is defeated before it happens.

The souls of Limbo 'sanza speme vivemo in disio' (without hope live in desire; *Inf.*, IV. 42). Cato shows an absence of desire. For Auerbach, 'beyond all doubt Cato is a *figura*; not an allegory like the characters from the *Roman de la rose* [i.e., personification allegory] but a figure that has become the truth'.[28] (The historical Cato neither loved nor hated either faction; this is now enlarged into general lack of affect.) But Dante has produced a personification of the four cardinal virtues,

[26] See Andrew Erskine, 'Cicero and the Expression of Grief', in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, ed. by Braund and Gill, pp. 36–47.

[27] See Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of Mind* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), using *City of God*, XIV. 15, 16.

[28] Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in Auerbach *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. by Ralph Manheim (New York: Meridian, 1959), pp. 11–76 (pp. 64–67).

cast as non-affective, withdrawn, not responding to the Marzia whom Virgil says still desires Cato (as in life), 'ch 'n vista ancor di priega, | o santo petto, che per tua la tegni' (who in sight still prays you, O sacred breast, that you hold her for your own, ll. 79–80). Cato desires liberty, but his austerity, his lack of relation to the woman — for which he was criticized by commentators, for surrendering Marzia to Hortensius in the first place — and his lack of affect are modes of loss.[29] Liberty becomes negative, measured in readiness to lay aside the body. Desiring freedom from affect seems a mode which imprisons the self, so that, following Dante in *Monarchia*, and imagining him in dialogue with Augustine, the austerity, itself an imprisonment, a confining of the self to caves, allowed Cato his licence to die to fulfil his self-restraint, his rigidity, as if he was always dead to himself. This comments on personification-allegory, as a form of imprisonment. There are poignant contradictions here: Cato is associated with the law, and the allegorical mode aligns him with law still further; yet he killed himself for liberty, for freedom from oppressive laws; but now in ante-Purgatory, he instinctively maintains the laws of the abyss.

But beyond this allegorical figure, all the canto is allegorical, beginning with the incipit showing one form of poetry overthrowing another, with the appearance of the four stars, and with the advice that Cato gives, when he suddenly ('Va dunque') issues instructions: that Virgil take the silent Dante ('costui'), and gird him with a smooth rush, and bathe his face so that his eye is not 'sorpriso | d'alcuna nebbia' (dimmed by any mist, ll. 97–98); then to follow the rising sun. He tells him where at the base of the 'isoletta' may be found rushes in the 'molle limo' (l. 102). As the sun becomes allegorically a guide, the passage allegorically amplifies the unnamed quality of humility. Virgil and Dante, still silent, move downwards (an allegorical journey) so that Virgil can bathe Dante's cheeks in the dew, and then further down towards the trembling sea, to be girded. 'Tremolar' resonates throughout the *cantica* (as in XXXI. 47); it implies an openness to experience the reverse of Catos' stoicism. And the plant for girding is 'umile', which recalls 'quell' umile Italia' (*Inf.*, I. 106), *Inferno*'s only reference to humility.[30]

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[29] See Robert J. Goar, *The Legend of Cato Uticensis from the First Century BC to the Fifth Century AD*, Collection Latomus, 197 (Brussels: Latomus, Revue d'études latines, 1987), discusses Cato's reputation; see the appendix on Dante and Cato (pp. 103–10).

[30] The word reappears when Dante meets Manfredi (III. 109); when Sordello meets Virgil (VII. 14); when the princes look up when the angels descend (VIII. 24), and when Dante is before the angel (IX. 108). On the cornice of pride it describes David as the 'salmista', the artist (X. 65),

Virgil says that he has brought Dante to see and hear Cato, which the latter takes as an example of flattery (l. 92); nonetheless, confrontation with Cato is also with Stoicism, which is of the essence of *Purgatorio*, for Cato's Stoicism has its influence through the seven realms, since the concept there of seven capital vices goes back to Evagrius's Stoicism, wishing to chase away the first movements of thought tending towards *pathe*, in a dream of a passionless state. 'For a monk temptation is a thought rising through the emotional part of the soul and darkening the intellect. For a monk, sin is assent to the forbidden pleasure of the thought.'[31] Each cornice, purging the 'umano spirito', subtracts something from its sinner. Dante places at the base of the mountain someone who is in the tradition which thinks of affects beginning as movements of thought and which must be controlled. Cato, identified with the four cardinal virtues, seems to have dominion over all, as if he needs not go through Purgatorio, as Virgil's line 75 implies. The strangeness of this first canto lies in aligning allegory, usually chosen to embody affective states, as in the *Roman de la rose*, with the representation of a specific virtue: victory over affect. The doubleness here — between giving affects their scope, and restraining them, marks out all *Purgatorio*.

Casella's Song

The second canto shows a new access of feeling, a divided state:

> Noi eravam lunghesso mare ancora,
> come gente che pensa a suo cammino,
> che va col cuore, e col corpo dimora.
> <div align="center">(ll. 10–12)</div>

(We were still by the sea, like people who think on their journey, that go in heart, and stay in body.)

while the plural summarizes the sculptures in X. 98. The paternoster of *Purgatorio*, XI. 1–24, celebrates humility in each *terzina*. (The point comes out in Dorothy Sayers's notes to her translation of *Purgatorio* XI (Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Dorothy Sayers and Barbara Reynolds, 3 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949–62), II, 154–55). Dante speaks of 'buona umiltà' in XI. 119; in XXIX. 142, it describes the Catholic Epistles. *Paradiso*, VI. 135, calls Romeo 'umile' and the word comes twice in Canto VII, discussing atonement doctrine (ll. 99, 120). It is used when Dante meets Peter Damian (XXI. 105); Benedict uses it of Francis (XXII. 90, following Aquinas on Francis, XI. 87). It is used of good preachers (XXIX. 93), and by Bernard, of the Virgin (XXXIII. 2).

[31] Evagrius, *Practical Treatise*, ll. 74–75, quoted in Sorabji, *Emotions*, p. 360.

In this hesitation, the ship comes across the sea, bearing more than a hundred souls about to begin their purgation, singing *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* (Psalm 113). This is the text with which the writer of the Epistle to Can Grande expounds fourfold allegory (and if Dante wrote the letter, it must be thought of as Dante's as not author but commentator on his text).[32] Virgil's excitement appears as he calls to Dante to bend his knees, as he had before, but with much less emotion, when Cato confronted Dante (ll. 28–36; cf. I. 50–51). Similarly, the new souls grow pale with wonder on seeing Dante (l. 69). Casella greets him 'con sì grande affetto' (l. 77), which moves Dante to do the same, to attempt to embrace him, though he does not yet know who it is. Wonder and smiling are both recorded (ll. 82–83), and Casella sings an 'amoroso canto' (l. 107) to Dante, because such 'mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie' (used to quiet in me all my will, l. 108).

The appearance of 'affetto' and 'voglie' as expressions of desire will be noted, while Casella sings *Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona*, 'sì dolcemente | che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona' (so sweetly that the sweetness still sounds within me, II. 112–14). The repetition of 'dolce' from Canto I, line 13, will be noted: this poetry echoes for Dante, and continues to echo, as the present tense indicates. Casella sings what Dante wrote, as the Calliope who accompanies Dante's song, as though this was another example of dead poetry rising again.

The song's echoing makes complex any response to the appearance of this canzone here, and Cato's stopping of it. There is no implicit palinode made either of the experience or of the canzone; Dante does not retract the value of the occasion. Vincent Moleta points out the echo of Francesca's pastiche line of Guinizellian and Dantean love poetry, 'Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s'apprende' (*Inf.*, V. 100) in this incipit: the poetry cannot exclude erotic implications.[33] What is quoted is the incipit to the canzone placed at the beginning of the third *trattato* of *Convivio* to give the sense of love speaking fervently (*disïosamente*) of his lady, whom the prose discusses as representing, allegorically, Philosophy (*Con.*, III. 11. 1). The lady, the poem's subject, allegorizes 'the love of wisdom'. This canzone has no debate: the lady is praised, the *congedo* retracting critical statements made about her in the previous poem, 'Voi che savete ragionar d'Amore'.[34]

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[32] Peter Armour, 'The Theme of Exodus in the First Two Cantos of the *Purgatorio*', in *Dante Soundings*, ed. by David Nolan (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981), pp. 59–99.

[33] Vincent Moleta, *Guinizelli in Dante* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letturata, 1980), pp. 102–06.

[34] See Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, I, 105–11, nos 60 and 61, and see II, 170–83.

The subjective state of loving philosophy is represented by love for a woman, but, Dante says, in some, 'fervore d'animo, tal volta l'uno e l'altro termine de li atti e de le passioni si chiamano e per lo vocabulo d'atto medesimo e con la passione' (fervour of mind, sometimes the source and the goal of actions and passions are called by the name of the action or passion; *Con.*, III. 11. 16). He gives examples from Virgil and from Statius. However much the canzone expresses passion for wisdom, it shows a power of affect which cannot be sublimated, echoing throughout *Purgatorio*.

The enjoyment is broken off by Cato:

> Noi eravam tutti fissi e attenti
> a le sue note; ed ecco il veglio onesto
> gridando: 'Che è ciò, spiriti lenti?
>   Qual negligenza, quale stare è questo?
> Correte al monte a spogliarvi lo scoglio
> ch'esser non lascia a voi Dio manifesto'.
>
>   (ll. 118–23)

(We were all fixed and attentive to his notes, and behold, the honest old man crying, 'What is this, slow spirits? What negligence, what standing is this? Run to the mountain to strip off the slough that will not let God be manifest to you'.)

The pilgrims listen to a poem whose sweetness veils its allegorical meaning in contrast to the severity with which Cato embodies allegorical meaning. Cato rebukes them for being held by the sweetness and lapsing into sloth, as if anticipating *Purgatorio*'s fourth realm. The melancholic old man is warning against *acedia*. The souls, reproached, disappear like frightened doves (II. 124–33) and the comparison may recall the Piche of the beginning of the *cantica*. Cato's rebuke has often been taken as Dante's palinode for his love of philosophy expressed in poetry as a diversion from Beatrice: the state of mind of the *Convivio*, and there is a persistent reading (in Robert Hollander and in John Freccero), which insists that this indexes how *Purgatorio* retracts the ground of the praise of philosophy in *Convivio*. Further, if the *scoglio* that does not let God be manifest to the pilgrims may be translated as 'veil' (Hollander),[35] then he is asking for the removal

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[35] Robert Hollander, '*Purgatorio* II: Cato's Rebuke and Dante's "Scoglio"', in Hollander, *Studies in Dante* (Ravenna: Lungo, 1980), p. 104. For Hollander on these cantos, see *Allegory in Dante's 'Commedia'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 123–35, and his reading of Canto II in '*Purgatorio* II: The New Song and the Old', *Dante's 'Divine Comedy': Introductory Readings, II: Purgatorio*, ed. by Tibor Wlassics, supplement to *Lectura Dantis*, 12 (Spring 1993), 17–34. See John Frecero, 'Casella's Song: *Purgatorio* 11.12', in *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*,

of everything that keeps the soul barred from God. His demand that the souls strip off the 'scoglio' may be connected with the term *vesta* used for the body he discarded in Canto I, the desire for a loss of sensuousness, or sweetness. Cato has discarded his 'vesta' but remains allegorical. Perhaps he means that the allegorical poetry that is being sung is a veil, like allegory as a 'veil' (as in *Inf.*, IX. 63, *Purg.*, VIII. 20). Perhaps this fits Cato's absoluteness, but it is not endorsed by the affirmation of the value of the sweetness. And reference to the 'scoglio' as the 'veil' cannot be allowed to suggest that there is possible an unmediated vision, a knowledge which is outside allegory. There may be writing outside formal and deliberate modes of allegory, but writing, like speech, conceals while it also reveals, and is always a form of allegory that can never be escaped from. It is not that Dante, along with others, is corrected by Cato and that the poem shows a movement away from the state of the *Convivio*, a yet unwritten text in terms of the fictive dating of the journey. He returns to the canzoni of the *Convivio* again, and with no apparent rejection of the lady Philosophy when Carlo Martello quotes 'Voi che 'ntendendo il terzo ciel movete' (*Para.*, VIII. 37), which opens the second *trattato*.

Cato's opposition to the singing has several motivations. If he knows the allegorical content of the canzone, it may be Stoic antagonism to a canzone praising philosophy in erotic and poetical terms. A figure of Stoic philosophy opposes poetry; an allegorical figure sets himself against allegory, perhaps because this allegory, unlike the more static form of the first canto, cannot be controlled in interpretation, and has, inevitably, erotic implications. The relation between desire and language will be developed more fully in Canto XXVI. Cato's hostility recalls his refusal of states of feeling, which the text sees as a complex state, but the poem does not withdraw from the commitment to feeling, though Cato scatters the pilgrims and sends them on their way. His antagonism is felt by Virgil, under orders from Cato: his melancholia persists through Canto III, lines 1–45, but it is not felt by the modern poet, even though his mind has felt temporarily 'ristretta' (restrained, III. 12). At this point, the difference between the older order of Cato and Virgil and the newer becomes apparent, being affirmed when Casella's smile (II. 83) is echoed by Manfredi's (III. 112), another figure whose honorary membership of the *dolce stil* appears in 'bello e di gentile aspetto' (beautiful and gentle aspect, III. 107) and 'piangendo' (weeping, l. 120). His fair hair, 'bionda',

ed. by Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 186–94, and Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante's Poets: Textuality and Truth in the 'Commedia'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 31–40.

aligns him to the angels appearing at the end of the day (VIII. 34). Gashes on his
brow and his breast make his body allegorical, like Cato's, who also met his death
in battle, but Manfredi's reference to the two rivers where his body was buried
and then disinterred, the Calore by Benevento, and the Verde, makes spatial the
allegory of the two wide arms of 'la bontà infinita' (l. 122); the rivers enclose
him and their plentifulness ensures his smiling, his hope (l. 135), and his sense
that he can be made glad ('lieto', l. 142). Dante speaks to him 'umilmente' (l. 109),
which continues the spirit of the end of Canto I, but humility characterizes
Manfredi's courtesy, and contrasts with Cato. Manfredi wants contact with his
daughter, Costanza; Cato puts law between himself and Marzia.

THE ART OF PRIDE

Prudentius's *Psychomachia* shows the ranging of virtues against vices, and this allegorical opposition began to be visualized in ninth-century art.[1] Emile Mâle discusses eleventh-century church sculptures depicting Virtues and Vices, as in the archivolts at St Pierre, Aulnay (*c.* 1130), over the Last Judgement portal. There, sculptures of armed women with huge shields trample their opposed vices. In the twelfth century there was a pluralizing of passional states in allegorical forms, which could be seen as either external or internal demons, as states of soul, as emotional fits of passion, or dispositions, or as names of alien conditions that affect and divide the mind and through it the body. There are several examples: Chartres, Notre Dame, the work of Nicola Pisano (*c.* 1220–84), working on the hexagonal pulpit in the Pisa baptistery *c.* 1260, or his son, Giovanni Pisano (*c.* 1245–after 1314), working on the Siena cathedral pulpit with his father (1265–68).

Giotto

Did Dante know Giotto's allegorical designs for Enrico Scrovegni's Arena Chapel? Scrovegni commissioned it between 1303 and 1305 in the Guelf city of Padua to offset his imminent purgatorial pains, and those of his father, Reginaldo

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[1] On this art, see Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Fontana, 1961), especially pp. 103–07; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959); Pfeiffenberger, *Iconology*; and Eloise Marie Angiola, *Nicola Pisano: The Pisa Baptistery Pulpit* (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1981).

Scrovegni, the usurer.[2] When Dante shows Reginaldo Scrovegni, in *Inferno*, XVII. 43–78, seated on burning ground at the furthest limits of the seventh circle, only recognizable by the purse hanging from his neck, white, with an azure pregnant sow on it (linking gluttony and avarice), only he speaks, saying that he is the only Paduan to sit with these Florentines. Usury was denounced in the Lateran Council of 1176 (reaffirmed in 1274): usurers must neither receive Communion nor Christian burial. It is worth comparing Giotto and Dante, in beginning to consider the art of pride.[3]

First, Giotto's virtues and vices are public, Dante's inward. The upper wall of the triumphal arch at the chapel's east end shows the Annunciation, the west wall the Last Judgement; here Scrovegni presents his chapel to the Virgin. The lowest panel of the two side walls, beneath the lives of Mary and Christ, shows six Virtues and six Vices, alternating as figures with panels in imitation of polished, multi-coloured marble. Grey, they look like statues, allegories of passions. The Virtues comprise Hope, Charity, Faith, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence. The Vices are Despair, Envy, Idolatry, Injustice, Anger, Inconstancy, and Folly. Virtues and Vices do not interrelate. Unvanquished, Vices occupy an equal, separate space.

Hope, with wings, floats upwards towards the right with both arms opened to receive a crown which a diminutive angel is holding towards her from above the doorway in which she is framed. Despair was commonly opposed to Fortitude, and regarded as an aspect of Acedia, and, as a suicide, associated with Judas.[4] She has hanged herself, and her body sags down in direct contrast to Hope, her hair hanging loosely down her back, and the bar from which she has hanged herself, bent. A devil, reaching down in a diagonal from the left-hand corner of the doorway, has come for her. James Stubblebine notes that 'almost always the Vices are shown off balance, so that vice of any sort seems to involve a loss of individual control, a disorder of the motor mechanics of the body, and, as well, a loss of intellectual and spiritual self-control'.[5]

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[2] See Ursula Schlegel, 'On the Picture Program of the Arena Chapel', in *Giotto: The Arena Chapel Frescoes*, ed. by James H. Stubblebine (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 182–202. She argues that the chapel was to expiate the sin of usury, and emphasizes the prominence of the Pact of Judas.

[3] For a cautious assessment of Dante's poetic, perhaps personal relationship with Cimabue and Giotto, and for their differences, see John Barnes, 'Dante, Ciambue and Giotto', *Strathclyde Modern Language Studies*, 6 (1986), 5–27. Barnes brings out more bourgeois sympathies within Giotto than in Dante.

[4] O'Reilly, *Studies in Iconography*, p. 142.

[5] James H. Stubblebine, 'Introduction', in *Giotto*, ed. by Stubblebine, pp. 69–100 (p. 89).

Charity, haloed, stands on money bags and bags of grain symbolizing avarice. She holds in her right hand a bowl full of fruits, while her left hand reaches up holding her heart, which she presents to a hand receiving it at the top right of the picture, again above the doorway. Envy stands in profile, in flames, which are outside the frame in which she should be, which has the sign 'Invidia' above it. Leaning forward, enacting her greediness, her left hand holds a money bag, her right hand stretching out as if clutching. Turned in profile, so that only one eye appears, a single, devil-like horn appears from the back of her head, turning round to end just below her ear, as if piercing it, while, in symmetry with this, a snake comes out of her mouth, as though that is what her tongue has turned into. It turns back to meet her eyes, as though she is about to be consumed (destroyed) by what she is consuming. Her ear is exaggerated, like that of an ass, or a bat. For Jesse Gellrich, Invidia's tongue is *bilinguis* in signifying

> deceitful or equivocal utterance, but also because, Invidia, without realizing it, is staring straight at her own words. And yet, like the ear which is large enough to hear all but hears nothing, jealous language neither sees nor hears itself. The figure herself is frozen in motion, as unaware of the tongue and ears as she is of the fire beneath. The static form of this figure is one of its compelling virtues; it characterizes envy with the extraordinary insight that it is incapable of reflecting on itself. [6]

The snake casts the evil eye on the possibly one-eyed woman; Envy is consumed by its own fire, and attacked from without by the serpent from within.

For Leonetto Tintori and Millard Meiss, it is unusual that Charity should not have Avarice as her opposite, but that Envy

> clutch[es] a bag presumably of coins [which makes her a composite of Avarice and Envy], but the emphasis is shifted from a lust for money to the more comprehensive covetousness of *Invidia*, and in this shift Giotto went further than one of the great representatives of early capitalism, Giovanni Villani, who still included avarice among the deadly sins, though he traced its origin to envy. Giotto's revision of the vice opposed to *Caritas* is related to the fact that no money changers are explicitly expelled from the temple [in the higher part of the chapel].[7]

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[6] Jesse M. Gellrich, 'The Art of the Tongue: Illuminating Speech and Writing in Later Medieval Manuscripts', in *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 93–119 (pp. 111–12).

[7] Leonetto Tintori and Millard Meiss, 'Observations on the Arena Chapel and Santa Croce', in *Giotto*, ed. by Stubblebine, pp. 203–14 (p. 209). The reference is to Villani, *Chronicle*, Book XI. 2. Millard Meiss, in *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 50, sees Giotto as relating to Villani, in stressing Envy over Avarice.

Giotto's Vices and Virtues, like Dante's pride, suit urban early capitalism, as the affects that associate with the city: similarly, *Purgatorio* X–XII celebrates the urban: Paris; Gubbio; Bologna; Siena with its campo; Florence as manic, proud and like a prostitute. Pride and envy are metropolitan, making sense within the city and within a group of cities: as Oderisi speaks of 'all of Tuscany' (XI. 110). Invidia is the first of the two capital vices Giotto shows, breaking a customary envy/justice opposition, and he contrasts hope to despair, not avarice (St Bonaventura's pairing).[8]

Fides faces the front, with a processional cross held in her right hand, the base of whose staff rests on a broken idol. Her right knee is forwards, and her left hand holds a scroll with the Creed on it. On her head is a mitre. She has a key suspended from her girdle, and her clothes have holes. She is standing on a rock, and there are documents lying there which are under her left foot, whose cabalistic signs make them heretical. Infidelitas leans towards the viewer's right, as a heavy, large woman (some commentators take her as male). Flames appear on her left, like those seen for Invidia. Her right hand holds up a small idol, which is a female, holding a tree in its right hand; and a cord in its left, which extends round her neck. Her helmet's earflaps mean she cannot hear the voice of the prophet whose speaking to her is shown by the scroll he carries: he is above, on the right, above the doorway.

After the theological, the moral virtues. Justice and Injustice are placed in the centre of their walls, and related to the border panel that crosses the ceiling. Justice, central to Cicero (*De officiis*, I. 7, 20; II. 23) as the greatest virtue, sits on a Gothic throne, the blue sky behind her, made, according to Howard M. Davis, as a 'frontal, pyramidal form [...] resting securely on a firm architectural base and set low within the visual field'. She is crowned, above her head-veil, and holds in her hands two figures on pans (making her the actual scales of justice). The right-hand figure is a winged victory, the left-hand, an avenging god.[9]

Injustice, while also seated, rises higher in his visual field and 'rests' on a 'wavy ground line of earth'. Davis points to 'cracks in his crenellated city-gate

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Andrew Latis, *Giotto's O: Narrative, Figuration, and Pictorial Ingenuity in the Arena Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), pp. 39–42, compares Invidia with Judas.

[8] Pfeiffenberger, *Iconology* (IV. 1., p. 16), notes that Aquinas opposed Envy to the first subsidiary part of Charity, i.e., joy; see *ST*, IIa IIae, p. 36.

[9] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp.152–53, emphasizes Justice as distributive, dispensing reward and punishment, not related to justice in buying and selling.

throne'.[10] As the architecture implies, these are city figures. Perhaps his face, turned to the viewer's right, individuates him. He holds a pike and a sword; beneath his clothes, he wears armour. Before him, a line of trees, like Dante's dark wood, prevents access to him. A panel underneath the floor of the throne of Justice shows two dancers and a musician playing a tambourine, and two travellers on horseback (two other horsemen and two dogs, hunting, are approaching from the left). Two trees in this panel suggest a forest, and a little hut, the arts of peace. Injustice has below him a scene of violence, a man trampled by a horse, another holding its bridle, two men unrobing a woman, and at the right, two soldiers with shields and pikes. The rape is the nearest Giotto comes to Lust, otherwise nowhere represented; at that point, a huge difference emerges between Dante and Giotto, the artist of, here, civic emotions.

Temperantia shows a draped woman with a bit or bridle placed in her mouth, implying the biblical injunction on the tongue (James 1. 26), and with a sword held in her left hand, which she binds with a ribbon held in her left. Everything in this representation indicates restraint; there is space around her, between her and her doorway. Temperance here means stoicism, not restraint of bodily desire.[11] Her contrast is a solitary Ira, tearing her upmost garments in her anger, like Caiaphas tearing his garments at the trial of Christ. Her breast bared, her hair hangs down, like Despair. Ira is the second of the capital vices, alongside Invidia.

Fortitudo, feminine, holds a shield, with signs of javelins and arrows aimed at it, and with a lion's skin around her back, its arms and legs tied round her body and its head over her head. A lion appears in the shield, making her Hercules. Her right hand holds a rod: she is the only armed Virtue. Inconstancy is Fortune on her wheel, as though balancing herself on it. But the imbalance appears in the way her veil flies up behind her to the right of the picture, making her a diagonal figure right across her frame. She stands on painted marble, smooth and slippery. Fortune is no longer a goddess, but a secularized figure of inadequacy.

Prudentia, feminine, representing wisdom, sits as a scholar at a desk, with a book on a stand, compasses in her right hand and a mirror held in her left (as in

[10] Howard M. Davis, 'Gravity in the Paintings of Giotto', in *Giotto in Perspective*, ed. by Laurie Schneider (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 142–59 (pp. 149–50).

[11] On Temperance's history, her growing association with wisdom (see Proverbs 8. 12–16), and her association with measure and time in the fourteenth century, see Lynn White, Jr, 'The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology', in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 197–219.

Dante's third dream). Folly (Stultitia) appears in left profile, like Invidia, raising a club to the heavens. His crown of feathers has bells; bags hang from his girdle. His ragged garments are birdlike. Prudentia's head is Janus-like, the female face looking at the Last Judgement, and the male at God the Father over the apse; there is no third head.[12] As Prudentia inaugurates the virtues, leading up to a crowned Justice, Stultitia, a rare presentation of Folly, Papageno-like, but a king, inaugurates the vices. Dante has no equivalent. His destabilizing figure is not Folly, but a woman, inducing melancholia.

Injustice's uniqueness is appearing unconscious of what happens around him. It is, like the adjacent Ira, a portrayal of a complex interior state. While Fides implies the Church (the rock, the Cross, the Bishop's mitre, the Creed, St Peter's keys), and Infidelitas Idolatry, she is also a nun from the order of St Clare, which implies Humility, and she evokes Minerva, associated with wisdom, and so with Prudence.[13] The Virtues are bound together; this binding takes place from the centre outwards, Justice, at the centre (virtues on each side), also embodying Prudence. In opposition to Charity (both have scales), there seems a progression from Envy to Despair, who develops the potentiality within Ira. If Giotto gives no Pride or Humility, Christian characteristics, Pride exists within Folly, or any Vice, but may be everywhere, in a positive sense. And that positive sense is in Dante, who shows Pride as Giotto does not. Giotto's Virtues and Vices contrast with each other, but in Dante, all states seem inherently double, as will be seen from *Purgatorio* X–XII.

Art in 'Purgatory'

The cornice of Pride is reached through the gate of Purgatory (*Purg.*, X). Virgil and Dante climb up through rocks to a level place, where the bank on the left is of pure white marble and adorned with sculptures, 'le imagini di tante umilitadi' (X. 98). Humility is plural, having many example, the first, as with Giotto, being the Annunciation. The portrait of Mary, initiating, or opening the art of the canto of pride (the repetition of 'aperse' and 'aprir' will be noted), confirms the power of humility, which turns the key to open for the supreme love:

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[12] See Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 181–205, for Prudence's three heads.

[13] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. by Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 86.

> L'angel che venne in terra col decreto
> de la molt' anni lagrimata pace,
> ch'aperse il ciel del suo lungo divieto,
>   dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace
> quivi intagliato in un atto soave,
> che non sembiava imagine che tace.
>   Giurato si saria ch'el dicesse '*Ave*'
> perché iv'era imaginata quella
> ch'ad aprir l'alto amor volse la chiave;
>   e avea in atto impressa esta favella
> '*Ecce ancilla Deï*' propriamente
> come figura in cera si suggella.
>
>   (ll. 34–45)

(The angel that came to earth with the decree of peace, for many years lamented for, which opened heaven from its long ban, appeared in front of us here sculpted in a soft attitude that it did not seem an image that was silent. One would have sworn that he said 'Hail' because there that one was imagined who, to open the divine love, turned the key, and she had in attitude imprinted that language 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord', as properly as a figure is sealed on wax.)

The angel's softness dictates everything. The image behind it, to the right, is of the ark being brought up into Jerusalem, and while humility is affirmed, as almost Dionysiac, in David's dancing naked (II Samuel 6. 20). Humility includes carelessness about asserting the subject's individual dignity, and produces a non-sinful equivalent to pride since it makes David 'more' than a king, as well as 'less' than one: less in the sense that the king no longer possesses proud tyranny. Dionysiac dancing is also humility. And emotions other than humility come out, with Michal, isolated at the window of the palace. Her greatness affirms pride. She is 'dispettosa e trista' (l. 69), the first word reappearing in Canto XVII, line 26, in relation to anger; the second evoking everything of the fourth cornice. Virgil discussing pride (*Purg.*, XVII. 115–17) interrelated it with envy and anger. 'Dispettosa' was used of Farinata and of Capaneus (*Inf.*, X. 36, XIV. 47). It will be seen how Omberto Aldobransechi attracted envy against him, and anger; while Florence is an angry city (XI. 61–69, 113). In contrast, Provenzan Salvani, like David, has put off shame; that in turn excites anger, as with Michal in relation to David's lack of shame.

    Behind this image, further to the right, is Trajan, figure of classical greatness and 'valore'; he is paired with the widow, in an almost represented psychomachia,

ending with her victory.[14] These images are called histories ('storia', X. 52, 71)
leading to the sentence 'Quiv'era storiata l'alta gloria | del roman principato' (here
was presented in story the high glory of the Roman prince, X. 73, 74) — a unique
use of 'storiata', as Barolini says, 'as though [the image was] made of words rather
than marble'.[15] 'Gloria' is a crucial word in cantos discussing pride: it reappears in
XI. 97, when Oderisi says that one Guido has taken from another 'la gloria della
lingua', and again in XI. 133, for Provenzan Salvani, 'quando vivvea più glorïoso'.
It contrasts with the other expression which conveys pride, vainglory: 'O vana
gloria dell'umane posse' (XI. 91), which, in Dante, appears only here. Trajan may
exemplify humility, but his glory is chronicled as a history, which takes dramatic,
and so narrative, form. These examples are linked figurally: as with the three
women: Mary, Michal, the widow; and as with David's rule anticipating Trajan's.
And David is figural as the ancestor of Mary, and as anticipating Christ as her
son; the ark figuring the Incarnation. David is David, Mary, and the Christ who
is figured, not shown.

The white art on the white marble would shame both 'Policleto', named
here as an example of Greek realism, but also 'la natura', which takes its course
from the Divine Intellect and its art. Human art is the grandchild of God (*Inf.*,
XI. 99–105), in a relay of nature as a mimesis of God, and art as representing
nature. This art is less mimesis than an event, for there the angel is not repre-
senting things that have finished, but things happening now; they are events
within the realm of signs. Hence Dante moves physically to see the art, whose
visual quality colours the whiteness so that the eagles appear gold (l. 80), and
creates the sense of hearing (in X. 39, 40 and 59, 60). And smell is also invoked in
the art (ll. 61–63). More, the art seems to be in motion (l. 81) so that the third
example takes the form of a breathless dramatic dialogue, which runs over time:

> Colui che mai non vide cosa nova
> produsse esto visibile parlare,
> novello a noi perché qui non si trova.
>   (ll. 94–96)

(He who never saw a new thing produced this visible speech, new to us because here it is
not found.)

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[14] For discussion, and links between humility and justice (Trajan), and for the significance
of Rome, shadowed by Jerusalem in the second example, see John A. Scott, *Dante's Political
Purgatory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 139–43.

[15] Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante* (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1992), p. 126.

The periphrasis makes God, the 'fabbro' (l. 99); 'visibile parlare' makes art aspire to be two things together, not the record of a single state: we can contrast that with Giotto's Virtues and Vices. All possibilities are inherent in the work of art whose plurality is as evident as its indications that it does not deal with single affective states; it is an art which changes everything and reduces pride, because it is not (yet) found 'here'. The art visualized is an art to be aspired towards, and so it is not mimetic of a past event, but is a presentation of a future art, which will be the event of the future. Everything is new, hence after the art, the stress on Dante wishing to see 'novitadi' (l. 104), further new things. Art, pride and humility come to birth together.

Virgil indicates people coming, and Dante turns with an address to the reader (X. 106–11). As what is seen comes into clarity, it becomes an allegory: the souls beneath their stones have become supports. The poem turns to the reader as 'O superbi cristian' (X. 121), while line 127 returns to pride: 'Why does your mind float aloft' (Di che l'animo vostro in alto galla?), by a contrast with implied heaviness. Figures are supporting huge weights that bring their knees into contact with their breasts, and the comparison is made with an architectural form 'la qual fa del non ver vera rancura | nascere 'n chi la vede' (so that what is not real causes real discomfort to be born in whoever sees it, ll. 133, 134). Canto XI opens with the prayer of the shades, hearing which produces a third address to the reader (XI. 31–36). Virgil's request for direction towards the stairway prompts responses from two modern figures to whom we should turn.

The first is the Ghibelline Omberto Aldobrandesco, who speaks of 'mia superba doma' (XI. 53) — my proud neck. Carrying his face low literalizes the image. Describing himself, beginning 'Io fui latino', he takes pride in his birth, in his blood, and in the knightly deeds of his ancestors, and calls himself 'arrogante' (l. 62), holding others 'in despetto' (l. 64), so much so that the Sienese killed him at Campagnatico (in 1259). Historically, the family came from Santafiora, which was alluded to earlier in Canto VI, line 111, and which they occupied, in a state of tension with Siena. He then names himself — 'Io sono Omberto' — and refers to his pride again in his short speech, at line 67, saying that it has not just worked him ill (giving him death), but all his fellows. The load he bears is his pride, because he did not carry it with him as a weight, an incumbrance, in his life.

These two people are, actually, three, because Oderisi († 1299), who recognizes Dante, speaks of another, Provenzan Salvani, as the images earlier spoke of Christ, dispersed as subject, among the figures. The examples are interlaced together in a way which makes them rival the three sculpturings of Canto X (that evoked a single art; three art forms appear here). Dante calls Oderisi the honour of Gubbio

(the point takes in the character of Omberto Aldobrandeschi) and the honour of that art which in Paris is called 'alluminare'. Punning on Oder*isi* and 'piú *ridon* le carte', and speaking in twelve terzine, Oderisi gives full 'honour' to another and admits to pride (l. 88), defined as the great desire of excelling. The passage speaks of art in three forms: painting (Cimabue, Giotto), writing (Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, who ghosts this canto as before he had ghosted *Inferno* X, and Dante), and illumination, which is between painting and writing. The episode shows the arbitrariness of 'fama' (ll. 96, 103), which, as a theme of this canto, is introduced by Omberto, who was fascinated by names: Dante's (l. 55), his own father's (l. 60), and his own (l. 67). But the coming and going of the wind changes the name ('muta nome', l. 102), just as Omberto is displaced by Provenzan Salvani, who seems like a later version of him. And Oderisi is displaced by Franco Bolognese, Cimabue by Giotto, and one Guido by another. Synonyms for fame and the name follow: 'l'onor' (ll. 80, 84), 'il grido' (l. 95), 'la gloria' (l. 98), 'il mondan romore' (l. 100), 'Toscana sonò tutta' (l. 110), 'la vostra nominanza' (l. 115).

Oderisi then honours the Ghibelline Provenzan Salvani, who, like Omberto Aldobrandeschi, had a reputation in Tuscany (ll. 58, 110). The latter is said to have presumed to hold all Siena in his grasp: like the former, he was killed by his enemies (here the Florentines), ten years later after that, in 1269. Such presumption, which is a loaded word here (Leonardi points out that Gregory regarded it as the daughter of vainglory, *Moralia*, XXXI. 45. 88), can only excite ill-feeling, and hence on the cornice of envy (Canto XIII), there appears his aunt, Sapia, who opposed him. It seems that she has been generated by his presumption. Oderisi begins by saying of Provenzan Salvani that he had the most reputation in Tuscany, after the victory over Florence at Montaperti (1260), having destroyed the 'rabbia fiorentina, che superba | fu a quel tempo' (the rage of Florence, which at that time was proud, XI. 113–14). Florence, outstanding example of pride, is introduced here casually, and said to be selling herself as a prostitute. As Provenzan Salvani is no longer heard of in Siena, so Florence is no longer definable as proud, so 'pride' must be seen not in terms of self-importance, but as nobility, as a spontaneous spirit that thinks it can excel, or that that dares too much ('oso', l. 126). Just as Provenzan Salvani is now dead, and is neither described nor speaks, pride is thus put into the past, as Florence no longer has this nobility, having replaced it with something more commercial, cynical, or avaricious. The concomitant of such pride is Provenzan Salvani's Christlike spontaneity, ready to stand in the marketplace having put away all shame, in order to ransom his friend from 'pena' in prison. He is said to have brought himself to

tremble in every vein ('si condusse a tremar per ogne vena', l. 138) as he begged for him, in a city hostile to himself, as if there could be no distinction between pleading for another's suffering and suffering himself. The canto closes with the intimation that Dante will know what that means. He will be exiled in poverty, made what Provenzan Salvani and his friend prefigure. Clearly, from Dante's question (ll. 127–32), no one has done anything similar for Salvani since his death; commenting on his singularity in his pride, or his obscurity after his death, or on how pride isolates.

Provenzan Salvani's humility — only possible because he was proud — contrasts with Florence's commercialism and dramatizes contemporary shifts occurring between seeing pride as the principal sin and avarice as that, avarice gaining momentum as a primary sin in the eleventh century.[16] It is not surprising that, following Oderisi's words, the souls purging themselves of envy are seen as beggars. With Provenzan Salvani in the 'campo di Siena', pride is constitutive of humility. Avarice, the alternative chief sin of the late medieval period, has both liberality and poverty as its opposite. Provenzan Salvani becomes both humble *and* poor, but as Lester Little points out, the older understanding of poverty was to be living without power, which was what Salvani aspired towards (XI. 122, 123).[17] Riches implied not so much wealth as power. Little links the Benedictine order with two opposites, pride and humility, and the orders of friars with avarice and poverty. If Francis of Assisi's wedding of poverty seems anticipated in Provenzan Salvani's humiliation, the context in the equivalent canto of *Paradiso* (XI. 43–117) is more modern, since not aristocratic, as here, but bourgeois.

Dante's art makes the pages smile more, because this canto about art makes its figures works of art, appearing as events, appearing and fading, coming and going with the wind. Oderisi calls Dante 'Frate' (l. 82), associates him with himself, and addresses his case from line 103 onwards. He has encouraged Dante into a comparison with Provenzan Salvani (ll. 109–14), and Dante replies: 'Tuo vero dir m'incora | bona umiltà, e gran tumor m'appiani' (your true words place in my heart good humility, and reduce the grand swelling [of pride], ll. 118–19). Only great pride could say that (not humility), so that pride and humility become complementary, like fame and obscurity (l. 96). As Oderisi says about his rival, 'l'onore è or suo e mio in parte' (the honour is now his, and mine in part, l. 84). It is not possible to say who has done what; or to whom, properly, to give credit.

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[16] See Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice', pp. 16–49.

[17] Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice', p. 45.

This perception puts an end to pride as attached to the ego. The philosopher to be associated with such a sense as that is Heidegger, whose essay 'The Origin of the Work of Art' does not allow that art comes from the individual imagination of the artist, but sees it as the event which changes perception, while it conceals and reveals together.[18] Pride would insist on the power of the ego. As Aquinas puts it (*ST*, II-II, q. 162. a. 3 ad. 4, in a passage quoted by Singleton): 'Pride is said to be love of one's own excellence, inasmuch as this love makes a man presume inordinately on his superiority over others, and this belongs properly to pride.' But if no individual artist can place himself at the origin of the work of art, pride loses its rationale. Fame, redistributing glory and honour, makes it evident that no one ego is sufficient for those changes and newnesses in art of which Dante speaks.

Canto XII reinvokes art, with some twelve or thirteen episodes of the proud who have fallen: if Pride suggests glory in the power of presence, there is no sense of absence, nor niggardliness, in the number of examples given. As the Scrovegni chapel gives the lives of the Virgin and Christ, they form a narrative, as well as comprising individual narratives, which appear in *terzinas* forming an acrostic of UOM — 'man', making pride and man identical.[19] Yet the first examples are not men but giants, visual forms of pride, and the point of crossover is not apparent. These images develop from *Inferno*, where VII. 12 referred to the war between Michael and the fallen angels (Revelation 12. 7–9) and to the 'superbo strupo' — the proud rebellion (actually, 'adultery'). In XIV. 64, Virgil refers to the pride of Capaneus, who aggrandizes his pride, saying that 'Giove' would not have victory over him as he did with the giants at the battle of Phlegra (XIV. 58). 'Superbo' reappears for Vanni Fucci, who is compared with both Capaneus, and the giants:

> Per tutt' i cerchi de lo 'nferno scuri
> non vidi spirto in Dio tanto superbo,
> non quel che cadde a Tebe giù da muri.
>
> (*Inf.*, XXV. 13–15)

(Through all the circles of the dark inferno, I saw no spirit so proud towards God, not he who fell from the walls at Thebes.)

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[18] Martin Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art', in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 15–87 (pp. 72–73).

[19] On these examples, see Joan M. Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the 'Divine Comedy'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 1–225. See my *Dante and Difference: Writing in the 'Commedia'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 104–12, and references.

It is a comment on the modernity of the sin: Vanni Fucci came from modern Pistoia. In Canto XXXI, lines 91–92, Ephialtes wished to make experience of his power against high Jove; Canto XXXI opens with Nimrod's horn, and Dante's perception of lofty towers (like Babel) which are giants; Nimrod is described and Ephialtes, and Briareus is mentioned, his further ferocity as described being a cause of Ephialtes's shaking of himself as envious. Antaeus is seen, and Virgil mentions Tityos and Typhon, hurled into Tartarus, below Mount Etna (*Para.*, XIII. 70). Three giants appear, but three others, 'figli della terra' (*Inf.*, XXXI.121) are only talked about. Virgil makes Antaeus lift him and Dante down, telling Antaeus that Dante can restore his fame on earth, and therefore, bidding him 'bend' and not to curl his lip in scorn. Antaeus, as proud as the other giants, and scornful, desires fame. Nimrod appears in both *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, and is mentioned in *Paradiso*, XXVI. 126; Briareus is seen in art only, like the other giants. The fame that Antaeus desired is here his sculpture. Pride wishes fame, which invests in the fantasy of self-presence, and that such presence can be retained: it has no sense of death. But the tombs — which start from the premise of death — ensure that there may be a memory of people, and the text speaks of the prick of remembrance. Memory and fame are not the same, because memory stresses the dependence of the one in the tomb on the onlooker. Fame, if it could exist, would be independent of the person who remembers.

The tomblike inscriptions begin with Satan 'folgoreggiando scender' (descending like lightning). The word is probably Dante's invention, deriving from Luke 10. 18. Was Satan struck by lightning, like Briareus (l. 28), or did he fall as lightning? Lightning and fire structure images here. Satan's contrast — seen on the other side — is the Titan Briareus, son of Uranus and Terra, the earth. As 'centumgeminus Briareus' (hundredfold Briareus, *Aeneid*, VI. 287, also called Aegaeon, in *Aeneid*, X. 565–67, which also makes him spurt fire from fifty mouths and breasts), he defied the Olympian gods. Lying on the earth, he is brought back to his mother and is ice-cold, his fire extinguished by the celestial bolt. Is this Titanic rebellion the same, or different from the next, where Thymbraeus (Apollo), Pallas Athene, and Mars, with Jupiter their father (note the mother/father, earth/sky symmetry), look on the scattered limbs of the giants? The ambiguity disrupts the symmetry elsewhere visible in the pattern. The contrast with these triumphal figures is Nimrod, called a giant in *De vulgari eloquentia*, I. 7. 4, following *City of God*, XVI. 3. 12, and seen as prompting incorrigible man to further pride, in a sentence differentiating him from 'man'. Here, 'quasi smarrito' he looks at those who were proud with him in the plain of Shinar (Babel, or Baylon: the empires discussed here, which do not include the Roman, are all fierce with the power of the pagan).

The acrostic turns to the letter *o* with Niobe, Saul, 'folle' Arachne, and Rehoboam. Two women from Ovid: two rulers from the Old Testament. Both women were punished by the Olympians: by Apollo (with Diana, for Niobe, turned into stone, and into a fountain), and by Minerva for Arachne, who believed she could challenge the gods with her art. Saul's suicide with his own sword shows pride continuing up to his death, while the absence of rain and dew contrasts with Niobe's grieving eyes. Rehoboam's disappearance shows the hollowness of his pride. Saul represents the power of tragedy, but Rehoboam shows that pride of monarchy in the history of Judaea returns the second time as farce. There follows, for the acrostic's *m*, Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiarus (*Inf.*, XX. 31–39) killed by her son, Alcmaeon (*Para.*, IV. 103–05), as her husband was struck by lightning at Thebes (*Thebaid*, II. 265–305, IV. 187–213). The Assyrian Sennacherib, also killed by two of his sons while worshipping his god, Nisroch in the temple while they escaped, with nothing achieved (II Kings 19. 37) is followed by the Persian Cyrus. According to Orosius, Cyrus was killed by Tomyris, the Scythian Queen, who triumphed over him saying, 'Sangue sitisti, e io di sangue t'empio' — you thirsted for blood and I fill you with blood. These are the only words quoted in the examples. The vengeful woman's pride exceeds Cyrus's, giving echoes of the tyrants bathed in blood of *Inferno* XII. In symmetry with this there follows the Assyrian Holofernes, also beheaded by a woman, Judith, his army routed. Finally comes Troy in ashes. The sequence which started with Satan's lightning fall ends with cinders, confirming the place of mourning, presaged in the initial tomb-comparison:

> Come, perché di lor memoria sia,
> sovra i sepolti le tombe terragne
> portan segnato quel ch'elli eran pria,
>   onde lì molte volte si ripiagne
> per la puntura de la rimembranza,
> che solo a' pïi dà de le calcagne;
>   sì vid'io lì, ma di miglior sembianza
> secondo l'artificio, figurato
> quanto per via di fuor del monte avanza.
>
> (ll. 16–24)

(As, above sepulchres, in order that there may be memory of them, tombs on the ground carry, signed, that which they were before, so that many times there are tears because of the piercing of the memory that only to the pitiful gives the heel [i.e., the spur]; so saw I figured there, but of better semblance, following the workmanship, as far as the road projects out from the mount.)

All the examples have perished; these sculptures serve as signs of tombs, which bear the figures that are represented on pavement-tombs in churches or in cloisters or cemeteries. But the examples are of better similitude than these, in not aiding pride in the achievement of the person sculpted, but pointing to death and fragmentation. Tomb-sculpture is particularly evident with the sculpted figures of Briareus, 'grave' (l. 30, either heavy, or engraved), Niobe graven ('segnata in su la strada', l. 38), looking at the children killed — seven of either sex on either side of her — and Rehoboam reduced to a 'segno' (l. 47). As the living look at the dead, so, in a *mise en abime* the sculptures show figures looking at others alive or dead: as with the Olympians (ll. 31–33), with Nimrod (ll. 34–36), with Niobe (ll. 37–39), and Tomyris (ll. 55–57). Figures, some ruined (Niobe, Arachne), contemplate ruins, ruins of people, ruins of artworks. Other bodies are left unmourned — Sennacherib, Cyrus, Holofernes: left further desolate. The passage describing the artwork in *Purgatorio* XII emphasizes the fragment: not only scattered limbs (l. 33) but Nimrod at the foot of his great labour, left incomplete, as if equating the tower with his body, implying the incompleteness of both, Arachne half a spider, her work only tatters (*stracci*), Rehoboam's body now useless as a force to frighten enemies. The necklace of Eriphyle now loses its fetishistic value. The *terzina* for Sennacherib stresses the dead body left there in the temple, temple and the body-as-temple laid waste. 'Ruina' appears in line 55 for the slaughter of the Persians, followed by the 'scempio' (havoc) made of Cyrus's body. There follows the relics (*reliquie*) of Holofernes's assassination: his head separated from his body. Finally, Troy is 'in cenere e in caverne' (in ashes, and in caverns — empty spaces where there were buildings, places which are the tombs of palaces).

In implying an art of the fragment, rendering not a whole but cinders, an art which calcinates, Dante's work brings out the power of death, splitting the pride of art and the art of pride. While each *terzina* contains a narrative, each contains an irony which interrupts that completeness. Satan's fall is only the beginning; Briareus's fall continues the narrative, but the following *terzina* furthers it too, relativizing both these figures. Niobe is still changing, like Arachne. Saul's death means that he does not know that afterwards Gilboa will never feel 'pioggia né rugiada' (l. 42), which is the result of David's lament over him and his son Jonathan, also slain (II Samuel 1. 21). David's lament, alluded to here, is an instance of keeping the memory alive of those that have died, and it implies that above the self-defeating pride of Saul, there is something else, the character of the piteous. Rehoboam's example shows a man caught in a history he is not master over, while the 'duro pavimento' (l. 49), which implies the tomb, as well as

Eriphyle's stony character, indicates that her fate has consequences in producing a miniatory work of art that she does not know. These last examples, of a woman who has had her husband sent to his death and who is killed by her son, a father killed by his sons, a king killed by the mother of a son he has killed, and a general killed by a woman his pride has believed loves him, put people in the grip of uncanny forces, which recoil unexpectedly upon them, ironically undercutting the proud ego in irony, and piercing (l. 20) — traumatizing — the memory.

The conclusion is this cornice's third address to the reader:

> Or superbite, e via col viso altero,
>
> figliuoli d'Eva, e non chinate il volto
>
> sì che veggiate il vostro mal sentero!
>
> (XII.70–72)

(Now be proud, and go with head high, children of Eve, and do not lower the face, so that you see your evil path.)

At that point, Dante is released from the first cornice, with the words of the first Beatitude, 'Beati pauperes spiritu' (Blessed are the poor in spirit, Matthew 5. 3), being sung in another form of art, by plural voices.[20] He has the sensation of the first *P* being removed from his forehead. Because it is the chief sin, after the *P* is removed, the remaining six *P*s grow faint.[21] The episode's clarity gives a pattern for what lies before; it is noticeable how many unambiguous statements there are of the nature of pride.

Pride and its Others

In *Inferno*, pride characterized 'l superbo Ilïon' (I. 75), just as Troy was the ultimate example of pride. Pride was the first sin explicitly mentioned in *Inferno* I, and it fits with Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, XXXI. 87, in words going against the other possibility, that 'Cupidity is the root of all evil things'

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[20] The Beatitudes (Matthew 5. 3–11, nine altogether) are heard after each cornice: see XV. 38 for the fifth, 'Beati misericordes', XVII. 68–69, for 'Beati pacifici' for the seventh, XIX. 50, for 'qui lugent', the second, XXII. 4–6 for the fourth, reiterated in XXIV. 151–54, and XXVII. 8, for 'Beati mundo corde', the sixth.

[21] See Guy P. Raffa, *Divine Dialectic: Dante's Incarnational Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 39.

> Pride is the root of evil, of which it is said, as Scripture bears witness: 'Pride is the beginning of all sin'. But seven principal vices, as its first progeny, spring doubtless from this poison root, namely vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, lust.[22]

The citation inside the quotation comes from Ecclestiasticus 10. 14–15, and Boyde, who gives parallel passages from the *Summa theologica*, quotes:

> Initium superbiae hominis apostatare a Deo;
> quoniam ab eo qui fecit illum recessit core eius,
> quoniam initium omnis peccati est superbia.

> (The beginning of man's pride was rebelling against God; for his heart withdrew from him who made him, for the beginning of all sin is pride.)[23]

Evagrius of Pontus placed pride at the end of the list of vices; Cassian amplified this: pride had, as adversary, neither angel nor virtue, but God. St Augustine had tried to reconcile the primacy of pride with the primacy of avarice by suggesting that avarice was desiring too much: not wanting too much money, but power. In the tension between the place given to pride and avarice, in *Inf.*, VI. 74, pride is the first quality identified with Florence, along with envy and avarice. The formulation returns in reverse in *Inferno*, XV. 68. Pride and avarice seem interchangeable affects for Ciacco and Brunetto, envy associating with both. And another word for 'superbo', *orgoglio*, appeared in *Inferno*, Canto VIII, line 46, for the arrogance of Filippo Argenti, and in Canto XVI, line 74, when Dante attacks Florence for its new people and sudden gains, which have engendered in the city pride (*orgoglio*) and excess (*dismisura*).

The Greeks called pride *hubris*, 'a phenomenon based in personal relations, such that the gratuitous acts of domination of one, shame the other'.[24] Nietzsche, in contrast to Aristotle, discusses the necessity of *hubris* in *The Birth of Tragedy*, section 9. Pride does not exist in relation to others, though Nietzsche makes it the most immoral act, to make another feel ashamed. He takes *hubris* through Oedipus and his incest, which he compares to victory over 'the ambiguous Sphinx' to say that 'wisdom, especially Dionysian wisdom, is an unnatural crime, and that whoever, in pride of knowledge, hurls nature into the abyss of destruction, must

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[22] Quoted in Anthony K. Russell, *Inferno I* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 53 (PL, LXXVI, cols 509–1162, LXXVI, cols 9–782, LXXVI, cols 620–21).

[23] Trans. in Boyde, *Human Vices*, pp. 174–97.

[24] N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris: A Study of the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1992), pp. 1 and 6, refer to Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II. 1378b. 23–35.

himself experience nature's disintegration'. Nietzsche compares with this Prometheus, and says that his desire for fire — 'the true palladium of every rising civilization' — is also for justice, and so:

> man's highest good must be bought with a crime and paid for by the flood of grief and suffering which the offended divinities visit upon the human race in its noblest ambition. An austere notion this, which by the dignity it confers on crime presents a strange contrast to the Semitic nature of the Fall — a myth that exhibits curiosity, deception, suggestibility, concupiscence, in short a whole series of principally feminine frailties, as the root of all evil. What distinguishes the Aryan [i.e., Persian] conception is an exalted notion of active sin as the properly Promethean virtue [...]. [T]he individual in the course of his heroic striving towards universality, de-individuation, comes up against that primordial contradiction [between the human and divine] and learns both to sin and to suffer. The Aryan nations assign to crime [sacrilege, Kaufmann] the male, the Semites to sin the female gender; and it is quite consistent with these notions that the original act of *hubris* should be attributed to a man, original sin to a woman [...] once we have comprehended the substance of the Prometheus myth—the imperative necessity of *hubris* for the titanic individual — we must realise the non-Apollonian character of this pessimistic idea. [...] This titanic urge to be the Atlas of all individuals, to bear them on broad shoulders ever farther and higher, is the common bond between the Promethean and the Dionysiac forces. [...] We may express the Janus face, at once Dionysiac and Apollonian, of the Aeschylean Prometheus in the following formula: 'Whatever exists is both just and unjust, and equally justified in both.'[25]

In this gender-marked sense of cultural difference, Nietzsche makes pride an aristocratic, spontaneous imperative: it contrasts to those *The Genealogy of Morals* says are marked by *ressentiment*, envy, rancour. Yet Dante's figures of envy are no less aristocratic and hierarchical than his figures of pride: this is instanced with the two members of the same family, Provenzan Salvani (pride) and Sapia (envy). To contrast Dante and Nietzsche might begin with looking at Dante's placing of the overreaching giants, in comparison to Nietzsche's sense of Prometheus. The reference to the 'palladium' in Nietzsche recalls the theft of the Palladium for which Ulysses and Diomed suffer (*Inf.*, XXVI. 63). And Dante's stress on humility is not Nietzsche's, for whom humility signals hypocrisy, as it did for classical pagan writers such as Cicero, for whom humility had a negative connotation, being meanness or abjectness: *Tusculan Disputations*, III. 13. 37 (cf. III. 9. 19). Humility became a virtue with Lactantius (*c.* 250–*c.* 325), who criticized Cicero as the adherent of the secular city of Rome, and interpreted

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[25] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. by Francis Golffing (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1956), pp. 63–65.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue as a foreshadowing of Christ.[26] In *De ira dei* he opposed patience to anger.[27] Lactantius, coming just before Augustine and Jerome, begins the Middle Ages in its loss of so much of Greek and Roman literature.[28]

Nonetheless, the contrast between Dante on pride and humility, and Nietzsche on these is less than it seems; this appeared when discussing David's humility and Dionysiac dancing. Boyde links *superbo* with *magnanimo*, and associates Omberto with Farinata, and *magnanimo* — 'great soul' — is used of both Farinata (*Inf.*, X. 73) and Virgil (*Inf.*, II. 44). *Magnanimatas* (Greek *megalopsuchos*), was one of Aristotle's eleven moral virtues (*Ethics*, IV. 7–8): in *Convivio*, IV. 17. 5, Dante follows this fifth virtue with pride, which paradoxically 'moderates':

> la quinta sì è Magnanimitade, la quale è moderatrice e acquistratrice de' grandi onori e fama. La sesta si è Amativa d'onore, la quale è moderatrice e ordina noi a li onori di questo mondo.

> (the fifth is Magnanimity, which moderates our desire for great honours and fame, and makes us acquire them. The sixth is love of honour, which moderates and regulates us with regard to the honours of this world.)

Convivio, XVI. 7, identifies Magnanimity with Fortitude, so intertwining it with the cardinal virtues. Aristotle's magnanimous soul is inherently good. 'Greatness of soul seems, therefore, to be as it were a crowning ornament (*kosmos*) of the virtues: it enhances their greatness, and it cannot live without them. Hence it is hard to be truly great-souled, for greatness of soul is impossible without moral nobility.'[29] Magnanimity is not found without other virtues, and as the virtue which makes the other virtues greater, it ornaments them.[30] It is an example of Aristotle making an emotion a virtue.

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[26] Mark Edwards, 'The Flowering of Latin Apologetic: Lactantius and Arnobius', in *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, ed. by Mark Edwards and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 213.

[27] See Lester Little, 'Anger in Monastic Curses', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 9–35 (pp. 12–27), for the opposition between anger and patience in monastic terms, as deriving from Lactantius and Prudentius.

[28] Augustine knew no Greek: see R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 110.

[29] Aristotle, *Ethics*, IV. 3. 16. 1124a, trans. by Rackham, pp. 217–19.

[30] See Tara Smith, 'The Practice of Pride', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 15 (1998), 71–90, discussing pride and self-esteem positively.

Humility appears in *Inferno*, I. 106, to describe Italy. Auerbach relates *humilis* to *humus*, the soil, saying it means 'low, low-lying, of small stature', and says that it became the term to designate the low style in rhetoric, but he also says that it gained its force from the Incarnation, quoting Philippians 2. 7: 'Humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis' (he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross). He quotes Augustine (*Confessions*, III. 5, VI. 5) on discovering the contrast between the language of Cicero and the humble style of the Bible.[31] The Incarnation and the language for the Incarnation go together, and Auerbach discusses the 'sermo umilis' by quoting Benvenuto da Imola on Beatrice speaking 'soave e piana' (*Inf.*, II. 56) — 'and this is well said, for the divine style is sweet and plain, not lofty and proud as that of Virgil and the poets'.[32] Against pride, a 'perverse imitation of God' (*Confessions*, II. 13–14), 'an appetite for a perverse kind of elevation' (*City of God*, XIV. 13, p. 608), Augustine poses humility. So: 'obedience can belong only to the humble. In a remarkable way, therefore, there is in humility something which exalts the mind and something in exaltation which abases it' (XIV. 13, p. 609). There could be no clearer statement of the impossibility of separating the vice and the virtue, or of deciding which is vice and which virtue. The *Confessions* begins with pride when in the first address, Augustine says that he has the witness that God 'resists the proud' — a half-quotation from I Peter 5. 5, which continues, 'and gives grace to the humble' (I. 1, p. 3).[33] That humility may be secretly calculative is what Nietzsche knows, but on this cornice, humility is a new, unknown state, evoked in an art which makes it magnificent.

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[31] The subject of *Confessions* III, when Augustine's 'delight in human vanity' showed itself in his approach to learning advocacy in the law-courts, when he was 'inflated with conceit' (III. 3, p. 38) until influenced by Cicero's lost *Hortensius* which directed him to wisdom. He describes his conflict when, in a spirit of curiosity, he reads the humble style ('gait') of the Bible in contrast to Ciceronian dignity (III. 5, p. 60).

[32] Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 25–66, specifically pp. 39, 66.

[33] The quotation in I Peter 5. 5. derives from Proverbs 3. 34; see also James 4. 6; see *Confessions*, IV. 3, p. 73, IV. 15, p. 86, X. 36, p. 244, and *City of God*, I Prologue (3): here, Augustine puts it into relation with *Aeneid*, VI. 853 in a rejection of that book: 'Man's arrogant spirit in its swelling pride has claimed it as his own [prerogative, as opposed to God's], and delights to hear this verse quoted in its own praise: "To spare the conquered, and beat down the proud".' On *Confessions*, see James O'Donnell, *Augustine: 'Confessions', Commentary on Books 1–10*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Foster and Boyde call humility 'sweet gentleness', giving it three senses, with reference to lines calling the lady the 'essemplo d'umiltate' (l. 70).[34] She is 'Questa è colei ch'umilia ogni perverso' (she it is who brings back to humility whoever strays from it, l. 71). Perhaps humility is a Christian virtue, but more suggestive is the stilnovist sense: they compare 'Ne li occhi porta la mia donna Amore' (no. 35, *Vita nuova*, chap. 21) with lines 9 and 10: 'Ogne dolcezza, ogne pensero umile | nasce nel core a chi parlar la sente' (All gentleness, every humble thought is born in the heart of all who hear her speak). Beatrice evokes something new, humility, and that it is her quality appears in no. 43 (*Vita nuova*, chap. 26), 'Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare', where she goes on her way, hearing herself praised, 'benignamente d'umiltà vestuta' (graciously clothed with humility, l. 6). The third sense makes humility part of the definition of a philosopher as a lover of wisdom, 'per che notare si puote che non d'arroganza, ma d'umiltade è vocabulo' (it may be noted that it is not a word of arrogance but of humility, *Con.*, III. 11. 5). A philosopher cannot be arrogant; the point returns in III. 13. 10 and III. 15. 14, where moral behaviour is the beauty of the soul. To avoid the soul becoming less beautiful, through 'vanitadi o per superbia' — vanity or pride — people should look on the Lady (as Philosophy) as an 'essemplo d'umiltà: cioè in quella parte di sé che morale filosofia si chiama' (an example of humility, that is, on that that part of her which is called moral philosophy). Because, the section continues, commenting on lines from Canzone LXI, line 71, the lady humbles all those who have gone astray — 'cioè volge dolcemente chi fuori di debito ordine è piegato' (that is, she gently bends back whatever has been bent from the right order). Humility seems feminine, unlike Pride; but a chiasmus here makes masculine and feminine, humility and pride, interrelated, inseparable.[35]

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[34] Foster and Boyd, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, I, 65, II, 107–08, I, 77–78, II, 124–25; see also II, 63, 182.

[35] *Vita nuova* references are to the edition edited by Dino S. Cervigni and Edward Vasta (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). For both *Vita nuova* and *Convivio*, see Dante Alighieri, *Opere minori*, ed. by Domenico de Robertis, Gianfranco Contini, and Cesare Vasoli, 2 vols (Milan: Ricciardi, 1979).

ENVY

'Invidia', from Latin *invidere*, to look on maliciously, from the prefix *in-* (upon) and *videre* (to see), contains the idea of seeing intensely, intently, which ultimately means to look squint-eyed or being unable to look directly, like Giotto's *invidia* . But the prefix *in-*, as a negative, implies blindness.

Aglauros

On the cornice of envy (*Purg.*, XIII, XIV, and XV. 1–57), the last tragic example of envy is conveyed through the air like thunder: 'Io sono Aglauro che divenni sasso' (I am Aglauros who was turned into stone, *Purg.*, XIV. 138). Ovid's Aglauros was one of three sisters, the others Pandrosos and Herse, daughters of 'double-shaped Cecrops', King of Athens, and made to look after a box containing Erichthonius, Minerva's child after her rape by Vulcan. Aglauros insists on looking into the box, and seeing the baby boy and a snake stretched out beside him (*Met.*, II. 553–61). The story is told by the crow who spied on Aglauros: one act of looking is framed by another. Later, Mercury sees Herse and falls in love with her, and comes to the house where the sisters are sleeping. Mercury asks Aglauros to let him approach Herse, but she 'looked at him with the same covetous eyes with which she had lately peeped at the secret of the golden-haired Minerva, and demanded a mighty weight of gold as the price of her service; meantime, she compelled him to leave the palace' (II. 748–51). In anger — and envy, too — Minerva remembers Aglauros's past uncovering of the secret, and seeks out the cave of Invidia, filthy with black gore. The cave is cold and wrapped in thick, black fog. Minerva sees Envy eating snakes' flesh (the link appears in Giotto), 'the proper food of her venom'. Envy, seeing Minerva, rises heavily from the ground (as Aglauros will become a stone), becomes envious:

> [S]he groaned aloud and pulled a face and therewith heaved a sigh. Pallor o'erspreads her face and her whole body seems to shrivel up. Her eyes are all awry, her teeth are foul [*livent*, livid; Latin *livor* means envy] with mould, green [*virent*] poisonous gall o'erflows her breast, and venom drips down from her tongue. She never smiles, save at the sight of another's troubles; she never sleeps, disturbed with wakeful cares; unwelcome to her is the sight of men's success, and with the sight she pines away; she gnaws and is gnawed, herself her own punishment. (II. 774–82)

The association with the snake means the inversion of all values, so much that virtue, in the Arno valley, is driven out as a snake (*Purg.*, XIV. 38).

Told to infect Aglauros with her venom, Envy watches Minerva go, 'eyeing her askance'. She touches Aglauros's breast

> with her festering hand and filled her heart with pricking thorns. Then she breathed pestilential, poisonous breath into her nostrils and spread black venom through her very heart and bones. And, to fix a cause for her grief, Envy pictured to her imagination her sister, her sister's blest marriage and the god in all his beauty, magnifying the excellence of everything [distorting Aglauros's vision]. Maddened by this, Aglauros eats her heart out in secret misery; careworn by day, careworn by night, she groans and wastes away most wretchedly with slow decay, like ice touched by the fitful sunshine. (I. 798–808)

Aglauros wants to die, to not see such happiness as she has imagined; she wants to tell the story to her father. But she sits in the doorway, to forbid Mercury access, and is turned into a black stone (II. 830). She tells Mercury that she will not move, 'hinc ego me non sum nisi te motura repulso' (until you have been driven away, II. 817) — I am not going to, or intending to stir myself from here except once you have been driven off: that is, I shall not budge till you are gone, so that she who refuses to move finds that she cannot, even when she wants.

Envy in Ovid is one of four personifications, alongside Hunger (VIII. 799–808), Sleep, and Morpheus (XI. 592–632), and Fama (Rumour, or Fame, XII. 39–63), deriving from Virgil's Fama (*Aeneid*, IV. 173–97).[1] Ovid's narrative presents Envy in two ways, through the characters of Aglauros and Minerva, both of whom are envious before Envy appears, and by personifying Envy, who then breathes her infection into Aglauros and works on her sense of vision, her imagination. By the

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[1] See D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 243–47; Garth Tissol, *The Face of Nature: Wit, Narrative, and Cosmic Origins in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 63–67; and Philip Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 231–38. See Bridget K. Balint, 'Envy in the Intellectual Discourse of the High Middle Ages', in *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. by Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–56.

end, Aglauros, turned into stone, has become as static and monumental as the personification, but it will be noticed how Ovid intertwines envy with curiosity and covetousness, which makes her demand money from Mercury. Envy of the sister's happiness relates this affect to the erotic; it has been argued that courtly love shows the outworkings of a cultural development which in literary terms means that those who fall in love have been afflicted by the evil eye, while the eye that looks to love is itself envious.[2] Envy is the property of the woman who sees another woman, her sister, loved, and her fate is to end despised by the man who loves her sister, who turns her into stone. Dante cuts out the presentation of Invidia, which would make Aglauros the victim of Minerva's envy, and concentrates on the woman whose feelings produce their own *contrapasso* in petrifying her. The omission of Invidia from Dante demythologizes, makes envy a state in process, whereas Ovid's allegory freezes the process, showing an Invidia who is not in metamorphosis.

Envy in Psychoanalysis

No tendency could be so modern as envy, and the twentieth century has seen psychoanalytic theorizations of it in Freud, in Melanie Klein and Lacan. In contrast, the sociologist Helmut Schoeck notes that 'it is remarkable how seldom "envy" has been personified in art'.[3] Schoeck's statement is borne out on the cornice of envy, for while Pride shows stone being worked on to produce images, Envy allows for no art, spontaneity of expression, or softening of stone. Schoeck holds that envy has been neglected in modern societies, receiving little sociological attention, so that many mechanisms in place for regulating or avoiding it are misread. But in psychoanalysis, Freud genders it, taking the view that envy and jealousy 'play a far larger part in the mental life of women than of men', and relating this envy to the girl's penis envy.[4] So, as Goneril sneers at Regan, both wanting the same man, Edmund, 'The eye that told you so looked but asquint' (*King Lear*, V. 2. 73). Freud makes the penis 'the normal prototype of fetishes',[5]

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[2] Sarah Spence, '"Lo Cop Mortal": The Evil Eye and the Origins of Courtly Love', *Romanic Review*, 87 (1996), 307–18.

[3] Helmut Schoeck, *Envy: A Theory of Social Behaviour* (Indianapolis: Liberty, 1969), p. 11.

[4] Freud, 'Some Psychical Consequences of an Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes', *SE*, XIX, 254.

[5] Freud, 'Fetishism', *SE*, XXI, 157.

and the fetish comes into play to cover the male fear of his castration, which is reinforced by the sight of the female's body. The male is marked by anxiety since the female state makes his castration imminent; but the penis acts as a fetish to assure the male that he is marked by 'the absence of absence'.[6] The girl, however, has no such recourse to a fetish, within this male economy marked by castration, and what in her is a 'presence of absence' produces a penis envy whose form idealizes the male economy and what the male has which the female lacks. Penis envy, paraphrasing this argument, where women take up a particular signifying place in a phallic economy, turning from the mother towards the father, in an acknowledgement of where power lies, becomes the prototype of other forms of envy.

In contrast, for Melanie Klein envy predates penis envy. Lacan takes envy back to the child watching the sibling being fed at the breast; a view which Melanie Klein accepted in her essay 'Envy and Gratitude' (1957), where envy is the reverse side of greed and is linked with the mother's breast. Greed would scoop out the breast in an aggressive and destructive introjection, whereas envy would project badness into the mother's breast to spoil and destroy her; because what is envied is the feeding breast, on account of its creativity, with the sense that the gift is not for the infant but for itself. 'The very ease with which the milk comes — though the infant feels gratified by it — also gives rise to envy because this gift seems something so unattainable.'[7] Though Klein discussed a secondary form of envy, derived from deprivation of the mother's breast, her primary emphasis was that envy was directed against creativity, spoiling the capacity for enjoyment:

> Strong envy of the feeding breast interferes with the capacity for complete enjoyment, and thus undermines the development of gratitude. There are very pertinent psychological reasons why envy ranks among the seven 'deadly sins'. I would even suggest that it is unconsciously felt to be the greatest sin of all, because it spoils and harms the good object which is the source of life. This view is consistent with the view described by Chaucer in *The Parson's Tale*: 'It is certain that envy is the worst sin that is; for all other sins are sins only against one virtue, whereas envy is against all virtue and against all goodness.'[8]

The sense of the harm envy causes, and the resultant anxiety and uncertainty about the goodness of the object, increases greed and destructive impulses. Envy

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[6] John A. Friedman, 'Gender and Envy in Freud's Discourse', in *Gender and Envy*, ed. by Nancy Burke (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 59–74 (p. 72).

[7] Melanie Klein, *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works, 1946–1963* (London: Hogarth, 1987), p. 183.

[8] Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, p. 189.

of the spontaneity of the feeding breast produces guilt, from the feeling of having spoiled the breast's goodness. Defences against envy are an idealization of the object, or a flight from the mother, or a devaluation of the object or a devaluation of the self, or stirring up envy in others, or stifling love in favour of hate.

Like Klein, Lacan separates envy and jealousy, saying that the eye is always perceived negatively, because it is 'endowed [...] with a power to separate'. He continues:

> The most exemplary *invidia* [...] is the one I found long ago in Augustine, in which he sums up his entire fate, namely that of the little child seeing his brother at his mother's breast, looking at him *amare conspectu*, with a bitter look, which seems to tear him to pieces and has on himself the effect of a poison.
>
>   In order to understand what *invidia* is in its function as gaze it must not be confused with jealousy. What the small child, or whoever, *envies* is not at all necessarily what he might want. [...] Everyone knows that envy is usually aroused by the possession of goods which would be of no use to the person who is envious of them, and about the true nature of which he does not have the least idea.
>
>   Such is true envy — the envy that makes the subject pale before the image of a completeness closed upon itself, before the idea that the *petit a*, the separated *a* from which he is hanging, may be for another the possession that gives satisfaction, *Befriedigung*. [...]
>
>   The evil eye is the *fascinum*, it is that which has the effect of arresting movement, and literally, of killing life. At the moment the subject stops [...] he is mortified. The anti-life, anti-movement function of this terminal point is the *fascinum*, and it is precisely one of the dimensions in which the power of the gaze is exercised directly.[9]

The *petit a* in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* is within the gaze, that which looks at the self, and by doing so, constitutes it as a complete subject within the field of vision, looked at before it starts to look. It begins looking in the 'mirror stage', which inaugurates narcissism, wanting to find that in the field of vision which will confirm an imaginary sense of self: the fantasmatic *objet a* which will complete its narcissism. Envy enters when there is the sense of narcissism being achieved by another, which entails denial of the self's narcissism.

While jealousy is Oedipal, relating to the father, envy relates to the creativeness of the mother. Jealousy relates to a situation of three people, and to the fear of losing a loved object to a third party. Jealousy does not appear in Dante. While it seems to depend on the existence of a third force, envy does not, though it can appear with three people, as with Lacan's account, derived from *Confessions*, I. 11, of Augustine's envy of his brother at the breast, which has as 'primary aim' the

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[9] Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts*, pp. 115–16, 118.

intention 'to create pain and deprivation in the third person, rather than obtain the good experience/object for oneself'.[10] Like Lacan, Klein regards jealousy as less than envy, because it implies love for the object which is thought to be desired by another, whereas envy hates the loved object itself.[11] For the Kleinian psycho-analyst Hanna Segal, everyday speech ignores the concept of envy and replaces it with jealousy. For her, 'jealousy is based on love and aims at the possession of the loved object and the removal of the rival. [... It] is necessarily a whole-person object relationship, whilst envy is essentially experienced in terms of part-objects, though it persists into whole-object relationships'.[12]

Teresa Brennan, commenting on Klein, calls the urge to get inside the mother's body — a desire to fragment and devour it — a desire for knowledge.[13] The motivations behind the desire to poison the mother's breast in the 'paranoid-schizoid' position (paranoid because aggressive tendencies are projected onto the mother, schizoid because it requires splitting the breast, which demands a split in the one who does it) are taken as plural. They point to envy and to the death-drive. A primary envy — which seems spoken of so much in Dante — signals the death-drive as an anti-life force, expressing itself in envy. 'For Klein', Meira Likierman writes, 'envy does indeed come first, [...] is primary and derives from a constitutionally determined degree of death instinct with which the infant is born.'[14] Envy tries to rival what it envies, by constructing alternative scenarios; for example, by denying the labour involved in creativity, so turning the mother into the position of the dependant infant, gaining a mastery over her, and by resenting its dependence on her. The result from the paranoid-schizoid state is the 'depressive position': here, the subject recognizes that the projected badness lies within.

Focusing on creativity as implying that the other possesses certain attributes, envy turns against what the other *has*, not *does*. So it links with vision, regarding appearances, not processes. For Lacan, Augustine expresses his envy through vision, which makes the other an object. Creativity is either trivialized or trashed in imitation. This desire to destroy makes envy less libidinal than greed, or gluttony, more negative than the urge to acquire within gluttony or greed. These

[10] Marco Chiesa, 'Envy and Gratitude', in *Kleinian Theory: A Contemporary Perspective*, ed. by Catalina Bronstein (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 98.

[11] Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, p. 182.

[12] Hanna Segal, *Introduction to the Work of Melanie Klein* (London: Hogarth, 1975), pp. 39, 40.

[13] Teresa Brennan, *History After Lacan* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 93–98.

[14] Meira Likierman, *Melanie Klein: Her Work in Context* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 186.

others desire to obtain the goodness possessed by the object, envy wishes to spoil what good the object has. The word which contrasts with envy in Klein is *gratitude*, which she sees as being even prior to envy, and interfered with by envy, which 'implies robbing the object of what it possesses and spoiling it'.[15]

Envy implies the evil eye, since the eye is the organ of aggression, the sense which separates the self from the outside world, and so objectifies the world; because to see something is to want it. Praising someone may suggest the evil eye, if admiration (a word implying vision) contains envy. Freud's 'The Uncanny' discusses the evil eye — the evil look ('der böse Blick') — as the fear of envy from others. Whoever possesses something valuable is afraid of others' envy, and projects onto them the evil he or she would have felt in their case. Thus: I envy you, because you envy me.[16] That can imply that complimenting someone is dangerous, because it carries with it the sense that behind the compliment is envy, and the evil eye.[17] Folkloric beliefs relate the experience of weaning to the moment of the inception of the evil eye which, in its turn, has the power to dry up the breast. Returning to the breast would create the evil eye.[18] That would imply that the experience of envy is related to the sense that the self once had something which it has lost, that envy is related to being in time. The 'evil eye' in Greek is *baskania*; *baskeinen* implying 'to bewitch, to cast the evil eye, to envy'. Its Latin translation is *fascinare*.[19] To be under fascination is to be bewitched, to be under the power of another's envy. The point will return, in discussing Dante's siren in Chapter 8. But, following Freud, the evil eye is not the property simply of the one who looks up to another and wants what they have. It also inheres in the person who possesses, so associating the affect with jealousy, jealousy being the fear of losing what is possessed.

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[15] Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, p. 188. *Gratitudine* does not appear in Dante, but see *riconoscenza*, *Purg*., XXXI. 88 (Singleton translates as 'contrition' — 'recognition of sin or guilt' in Dante's awareness of Beatrice's beauty). *Riconosco* appears in contexts implying gratitude: *Para*., XXII. 113, a prayer to the stars from whom he receives 'il mio ingegno', *Para*., XXXI. 83, praying to Beatrice, acknowledging the grace and virtue from her power and bounty.

[16] Freud, 'The Uncanny', *SE*, XVII, 240.

[17] See George M. Foster, 'The Anatomy of Envy: A Study in Symbolic Behaviour', *Current Anthropology*, 13 (1967), 165–202.

[18] See essays in *The Evil Eye*, ed. by Clarence Mahoney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); Alan Dundes, *The Evil Eye: A Folklore Calendar* (New York: Garland, 1981).

[19] Peter Wahot, *Envy and the Greeks: A Study of Human Behaviour* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978), pp. 79–80.

Envy in Dante

Invidia appears first in *Inferno*, I. 111, where the Veltro will thrust the she-wolf back into hell, 'là onde 'nvidia prima dipartilla' — there whence envy (i.e., the devil) first sent her forth. Sapegno quotes the Book of Wisdom, 2. 24: 'invidi dia diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum' (By the envy of the devil, death entered the world). It reappears in Canto III, lines 46–49, where the lukewarm are said to have no hope of death, 'e lor cieca vita è tanto bassa, | che 'nvidiosi son d'ogni altra sorte' (and their blind life is so low that they are envious of every other kind). Sapegno annotates 'cieco' by 'oscura'; Leonardi says that 'cieco' is a typical adjective within the *Inferno*, as with 'cieco mondo' (*Inf.*, X. 58–59), in which case, blindness may not only characterize the envious, but may make hell envious as a place. The uses of 'livid' (*Purg.*, XIII. 9) may associate with this: appearing in *Inferno*, III. 98, and associated with Charon, whose anger and irritation towards Dante may imply envy, it recalls *Aeneid*, VI. 320, where the Styx is 'livida' (the Loeb edition translates this as 'lurid', which means, however, 'pale yellow').[20]

In *Inf*. VI. 50, Ciacco says that Florence is full of envy: it is the first time Florence is alluded to (it is unnamed). The gluttonous city has overeaten on invidia, which has originary powers, as in Canto I, line 111. Ciacco repeats the diagnosis in line 74: 'superbia, invidia e avarizia' are the three sparks to have inflamed hearts in the city. The linking of pride and envy is significant, and avarice, the substance of the following canto, appears as a word to sum up much of the city's capitalism. But in *Inferno* XIII, in symmetry with the cantos in *Purgatorio*, Pier delle Vigne makes envy the property of the court:

> La meretrice che mai da l'ospizio
> di Cesare non torse li occhi putti,
> morte comune e de le corti vizio [...]
> (XIII. 64–66)

(the prostitute that never from the house of Caesar turns her whorish eyes, common death and vice of courts [...])

Pier della Vigna asks that Dante, if he returns to the world, will strengthen his memory, 'che giace | ancor del colpo che 'nvidia le diede' — that still lies under the blow that envy gave it (ll. 77–78). Patrick Boyde, noting the circumlocutions and

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[20] 'Livida' appears in *Inf.*, XIX. 14, describing the stone entombing the popes; here it is a synonym for 'pietra di color ferrigno' (stone of the clour of iron, XVIII. 2). It is the serpent's colour, XXV. 84 ('livido e nero'), and the souls', XXXII. 34.

rhetorical artifices in his speech, including the metaphor as Envy as a whore, finds 'a hint of paranoia in the way he presents himself as a victim of the abstract force of Envy'. He notes too that 'he speaks of himself with the name of a part, as an *animo*, that is, as a mind or reasoning faculty, and not as an *anima*, which denotes the vital principle of a whole man. It was his *animo* (line 70) with its perverse logic that drove him to commit suicide'.[21] Abstraction (Envy) meets abstraction (Animo) and there is a hint that envy cannot account for what brought Pier della Vigna down, especially since he speaks of himself as St Peter to Frederick's Christ, holding both the keys. The inflatedness of this mode is perhaps implied in Canto XVII, lines 104–05, and it suggests an exclusiveness which is the double of envy. A figure like Pier delle Vigne is glimpsed in *Purgatorio*, VI. 19–22, a court figure, Pier da la Brocia, hanged for spite and for envy (*inveggia*).

Later, Brunetto Latini speaks of that 'ingrato popolo maligno', Florentines, who are still of the mountain and the rock — still natural, though urban (Brunetto Latini's hostility to nature is a subcurrent here), not cultivated. They are 'lazzi sorbi' — the sorb-tree, used for plenty of services, and called 'the service tree', being of the mountain. (A contempt for service and for the servile is evident in Brunetto's contemptuous reference to the Pope (Boniface VIII) as 'servo de' servi' (l. 112).) He says of the Florentines:

> Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama orbi;
> gent'è avara, invidiosa e superba:
> dai lor costumi fa che tu ti forbi.
>
> (XV. 67–69)

(Old report in the world calls them blind: it is a people avaricious, envious and proud; from their customs, see that you cleanse yourself.)

This indicates Brunetto's pedagogical style, and his *pudeurs*. Perhaps he is right: Villani tells how the Florentines believed the flattery of Totila, and were therefore called blind; blindness is immediately associated with envy, in a significant order: Florentines are avaricious, envious, and proud. Pride produces envy leading to avarice — that is Ciacco's order, which is followed in *Purgatorio* — or avarice engenders envy producing pride, Brunetto's order. Reference to blindness followed by 'invidiosa' recalls how this canto is full of a sense of looking:

[21] In *Cambridge Readings in Dante's 'Comedy'*, ed. by Kenelm Foster and Patrick Boyde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 13.

> ciascuna
> ci riguardava come suol da sera
>   guardare uno altro sotto nuova luna;
> e sí ver' noi aguzzan le ciglia
> come 'l vecchio sartor fa nella cruna.
>   Così adocchiato da cotal famiglia [...]
>   (xv. 17–22)

(Each one looked at us as people are used, in the evening, to look at one another under a new moon; and so towards us sharpened their eyebrows as an old tailor does with the eye of his needle. Thus looked at with fixed intensity by such a family [...])

The old tailor, in the city's dark streets, gives way to Brunetto. Dante, held by Brunetto Latini, has to fix his eyes on his baked appearance (l. 26). Virgil, hearing Dante's confident words, turns his head back on his right, and looks carefully at him (l. 98). Brunetto, near the end of the canto, refers to the people that Dante could have seen, if he had wanted to (i.e., Andrea de' Mozzi). Perhaps looking can hardly exist outside a structure of envy; perhaps looking implies envy, like the admiring gaze of the sodomites.

Inferno's last reference complements the previous one, as though reining in its confidence: in *Inferno*, XXV. 99, Dante says he does not envy Ovid his metamorphosing, for he only changed one being into another, whereas Dante's art shows two metamorphoses at once. In Canto XXVI, lines 22–24, he reflects again on himself, as he says that he curbs his 'ingegno':

> perché non corra che virtù nol guidi;
> sì che, se stella bona o miglior cosa
> m'ha dato 'l ben, ch'io stessi nol m'invidi.

(so that it does not run where virtue does not guide it, so that, if a good star or a better thing has given me the good, that I myself do not envy it.)

There is a recognition of the danger of being self-divided, which develops from the sense of the city as being self-divided by envy, and which continues with the flame which, containing two rival sinners, is divided at the top. It recalls, for Dante, the funeral of Eteocles and his brother, Polynices, killing each other out of envy (l. 54). The 'ben' Dante has been given may be the 'ingegno' that something in himself may envy, or it may be salvation. So Bosco and Reggio argue, drawing attention to the Latinism of 'm'invidi'; which, as a Latinism, has the force of 'depriving the self of the good that has been given to it'. The gift comes from the other; the self can turn against it.

Before turning to *Purgatorio*, 'envy' should be noted in *Paradiso*. Canto VII, lines 64–65, begins a sentence saying that 'La divina bontà che da sé sperne | ogne livore' (the divine goodness which from itself spurns all envy). There is no privation here, but spontaneity.[22] In Canto IX, Folco turns on Florence again, not naming it, but punning on its name with the 'fiore' it coins:

> La tua città, che di colui è pianta
> che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore
> e di cui è la 'nvidia tanto pianta,
>   produce e spande il maledetto fiore
> c'ha disviate le pecore e li agni,
> però che fatto ha lupo del pastore.
>
> <div align="right">(ll. 127–32)</div>

(Your city, which was planted by him who first turned his shoulders on his maker, and whose envy is so mourned, produces and spreads the evil flower that has turned aside the lambs and the sheep, because it has made a wolf of the pastor.)

This reprise of *Inferno*, I. 111, may be annotated by Klein:

[T]he spoiling of creativity implied in envy is illustrated in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, when Satan, envious of God, decides to become the usurper of Heaven. Fallen, he and his other fallen angels build Hell as a rival to Heaven, and it becomes the destructive force which attempts to destroy what God creates. This theological idea seems to come down from St Augustine, who describes Life as a creative force opposed to Envy, a destructive force.[23]

As Satan's envy caused the ruin of Eden, as alluded to in Folco's first *terzina*, so it produces in Florence, a substitute Eden, a plant (the coin) which is the product of envy and causing the ruin of the sheep, making the shepherds into wolves in their avarice for it. In the last reference, Cacciaguida tells Dante not to be envious of his neighbours (XVII. 97). Cacciaguida is a figure of the self, speaking to the self, as if warning, telling it not to allow itself to enter the inner conflict of envy (the warning compares with Dante's sense that his eyes have little offended with looks of envy (*Purg.*, XIII. 133–35).

Other references in *Paradiso* are more complex: the first Aquinas saying of Siger of Brabant:

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[22] Singleton compares the Timaeus-inspired *Consolation of Philosophy*, III. metre 9. 4–6, for the goodness which creates beings without 'livore'.

[23] Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, pp. 201–02.

> Questi, onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo
> è 'l lume d'uno spirto che 'n pensieri
> gravi a mori li parve venir tardo:
>   essa è la luce etterna di Sigieri,
> che, leggendo nel Vico de li Strami,
> silogizzò invidiosi veri.
>
> <div align="right">(x. 133–38)</div>

(This one, from whom your look returns to me, is the light of a spirit who, in heavy thoughts, it seemed that death came slow; it is the eternal light of Siger, who, reading in the Street of Straw, syllogized invidious truths.)

There is an initial strangeness in this, since Siger was spoken of in Durante's *Fiore*, in a passage not derived from *Le Roman de la rose*, from which this group of sonnets comes. It comes before an allusion to William of Saint-Amour, opponent of the mendicant orders, who does appear in the *Roman*. Falsembiante (False seeming) says that the *religosi* with whom he dwells have taken things into their control so much that no scholar can expose him; rather:

> co.la forza ch'i'ò, i' sì 'l confondo.
>   Mastro Sighier non andò guari lieto:
> a ghiado il fe' morire a gran dolore
> nella corte di Roma, ad Orbiveito.
>   Masto Giuiglielmo, il buon di Sant' Amore,
> fec 'i' di Francia metter in divieto
> e sbandire del reame a gran romore.
>
> <div align="right">(92. 8–14)[24]</div>

(with the force that I have, I so confound him. Master Siger did not make a good end. With the sword I made him die with great misery in the court of Rome, at Orvieto. Master William, the good, of Saint Amour, I had relieved of office in France and thrown out of the realm with great uproar.)

The reference shows the practical power of envy, placing the powers of False Seeming against the innocent; it is exceptional, since these are the only places in Dante — assuming the attribution of *Il Fiore* to Dante — where Siger is so noted.[25]

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[24] See John Took, *A Translation of Dante's 'Il Fiore' ('The Flower')* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2004), pp. 197–98, for the Italian and a translation, and comments on Siger and William of Saint-Armour.

[25] John Took follows Gianfranco Contini, ascribing the work to Dante (see his edition for a comprehensive bibliography); for a negative view see Peter Armour, 'The *Roman de la rose* and

But everything said about Siger is strange, including Aquinas's final line, and this, not just for 'invidiosi' but for its three only, deliberate, quasi-syllogistic, polysyllabic words, which repeat a pattern appearing twice in *Purgatorio* XXVI, 'sopragridar ciascuna s'affatica' (l. 39) and 'apparecchiava grazioso loco' (l. 138). Singleton paraphrases 'invidiosi' as 'enviable', Mazzotta as 'blind', adding that it implies that 'the knowledge logic generates is not certain, self-evident knowledge'.[26] Gilson translates *invidiosi* as 'unwelcome', saying 'it must be understood in the sense that the truths which Siger taught were viewed with disfavour and drew upon him the hostility of his contemporaries' and quotes Scartazzini and Vandelli, that Siger established by his syllogisms 'odious truths which earned him envy and hatred'.[27] The truths seem to be such as would arouse envy: Aquinas's antagonism in 1266, and in 1270, when Averroism was condemned, Bishop Tempier's excommunication of him in 1277, and his assassination in 1284. Perhaps the envy aroused affected Aquinas too, making the line nearly a confession: the circle of the wise in the heaven of the sun must declare that truths, like creativity, arouse envy. And the utterance of truth itself may divide, excite odium, or unpopularity, or ill feeling. The latter is the first meaning *OED* gives *invidious*, the second being 'entailing odium or ill will upon the person performing'. An invidious act implies ill-feeling in the performer, and in the recipient. *OED* also suggests: 'of a comparison or discrimination: offensively discriminating', and 'of a thing: fitted to excite ill feeling or envy against the possessor', and 'that looks with an evil eye' and last, 'viewed with ill-will or dislike: odious to a person'. Perhaps *invidiosi* is a switch-word, affecting the truths, their utterer, and their hearer; it implies a general contamination. Envy exists within a circle, but if it works within the production of ideas, it makes a circle, like the one Siger and Aquinas now stand in, impossible on earth. Siger's grave thoughts, his death-drive, and even perhaps the point that the Vico de li Strami (where

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the *Fiore*: Aspects of a Literary Transplantation', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993), 63–81. For the debate, see *The 'Fiore' in Context: Dante, France, Tuscany*, ed. by Zygmunt Barański and Patrick Boyde (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997). A relevant question is whether the date (in the 1280s) is not too early for Dante. Also, and including Dante's relation to the Roman, see Aldo S. Bernardo, 'Sex and Salvation in the Middle Ages: From *The Romance of the Rose* to the *Divine Comedy*', *Italica*, 67 (1990), 305–18; and Kevin Brownlee, 'The Practice of Cultural Authority: Italian Responses to French Cultural Dominance in *Il Tesoretto*, *Il Fiore*, and the *Commedia*', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 33 (1997), 258–69.

[26] Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) p. 113.

[27] Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy*, p. 258: see Gilson's discussion of Siger, pp. 257–76, 308–27.

the Faculty of Arts in Paris contested against the Faculty of Theology), was appropriately the place for animals (Leonardi cites *Inferno*, XV. 73, for comparison) suggest someone not at ease, affected by what he has said, as well as what has been said to him. Perhaps the 'double truth', whereby something is right in philosophy if not in theology, produces an internal self-division, magnified among his opponents and producing the frenzy in which he was killed. But the truths that he syllogized, instead of receiving confirmation in the outside world, which would have confirmed the inner being of the Siger who propounded them, disconfirmed him, produced in him the division at which the lines hint.

In Canto XII, Bonaventura, forming the other circle of the wise, says why they have come to praise Dominic:

> Ad inveggiar cotanto paladino
> mi mosse l'infiammata cortesia
> di fra Tommaso e 'l discreto latino;
> e mosse meco questa compagnia.
> (XII. 142–45)

(the enflamed courtesy of brother Thomas and his clear words moved me to emulate such a paladin, and moved this company with me.)

Inveggiar makes 'envy' have antithetical meanings. Singleton annotates *inveggiar* as 'to envy in a good sense'; for Barbara Reynolds, Bonaventura has been moved to 'emulous praise'.[28] This follows Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, 1387. 22–1388. 30, which discusses envy ('a disturbing pain excited by the prosperity of others', 1386. 18) followed by Emulation:

> pain caused by seeing the presence, in persons whose nature is like our own, of good things that are highly valued and are possible for ourselves to acquire; but it is felt not because others have these goods, but because we have not got them ourselves. It is therefore a good feeling felt by good persons, whereas envy is a bad feeling felt by bad persons. Emulation makes us take steps to secure the good things in question, envy makes us take steps to stop our neighbours having them.[29]

Aristotle's definition of envy has been carried over to *Purgatorio* XVII, via Aquinas. Aristotle's distinction between emulation and envy, that the first is a good feeling felt by good persons, the second a bad feeling felt by bad persons, throws the emphasis onto the disposition of the person looking at another,

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[28] *The Divine Comedy*, III: *Paradiso* (1962), ed. by Sayers and Reynolds.

[29] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. by W. Rhys Roberts, introduction by Edward P. J. Corbett (New York: Modern Library, 1954), p. 120.

suggesting that a good person will not feel envy, but, rather, emulation. It is a non-Christian concept, more heroic, more related to concepts of the magnanimous soul. It contrasts with what is said about Siger. 'Emulation' contrasts with the envy Siger excited.

'Purgatorio' XIII

There are several exceptional features about the cornice of Invidia. It is deprived of everything giving something to the eye: 'Ombra non li è né segno che si paia (there is no figure [of art] there, nor sign that appears, XIII. 7) — only the 'livido' (bluish-leaden) colour of the stone. It contrasts with the white marble of pride, just as the stone Aglauros became is not white: her soul stained it black (*Met.*, II. 830). *Livido* puns on *vidi* — 'I saw'. When Guido del Duca says that if someone had become glad, 'visto m'avestri di livore sparso' (you would have seen me suffused with lividness, XIV. 84), it is as if livid souls leaning against livid rocks are identified with it; Dante cannot see the people on account of the stone's colour. Eyesight is deficient. After listening, he becomes aware of people anew. The figures that would give encouragement to the opposite of envy (gratitude, according to Klein) come as voices: Mary saying 'Vinum non habent' — they have no wine, an attitude of care which contrasts with what Guido del Duca speaks of in XIV. 83–84; and another voice saying 'I am Orestes', and a third saying 'Amate da cui male aveste' (love those who from whom you have had wrong). Orestes contrasts with Cain and Aglauros, except that those latter examples bring out more painful senses of envy in being related to those to whom the soul is tied by blood: Orestes's generosity was in relation to a friend. The first New Testament quotation is in Latin, the other in Italian, so that whereas Mary is heard, as if in older style, speaking from the past, Christ is quoted, or echoed, or translated as speaking in the present in sweet Italian tones. This is Christ transposed into the *dolce stil*, reacting to envy (i.e., the hatred that comes from another): love them that hate you.

Further, nobody moves on this cornice, save Dante and Virgil. The souls, wearing sackcloth, which fails to distinguish them, are propped up against each other, and, blinded, look like beggars and call for mercy, like beggars. Envy appears as lack. Three *terzine* describe them:

> Di vil ciliccio mi parean coperti,
> e l'un sofferia l'altro con la spalla,
> e tutti da la ripa eran sofferti.

> Così li ciechi a cui la roba falla,
> stanno a' perdoni a chieder lor bisogna,
> e l'uno il capo sopra l'altro avvalla,
>   perché 'n altrui pietà tosto si pogna,
> non pur per lo sonar de le parole,
> ma per la vista che non meno agogna.
>
> (ll. 58–66)

(Of vile horsehair they seemed covered to me, and the one supported the other with the shoulder, and each were supported by the bank. Thus the blind, for whom goods fail, station themselves at Pardons to ask for their needs, and the one rests his head upon another, so that pity may be soon prompted in others, not only by the sound of their words, but by the sight that does not less inspire.)

They are beggars, and blind, but beggars, whose mutual support of their neighbours creates for the other, watching, a visual image: they plead not only by their voices, but by the sight that people have of them: of their blind faces.[30] This leads into the following *terzine*, where it is seen that they are indeed blind:

> E come a li orbi non approda il sole,
> così a l'ombre quivi, ond'io parlo ora,
> luce del ciel di sé largir non vole;
>   ché a tutti un fil de ferro il cigli fóra
> e cusce sì, come a sparvier selvaggio
> si fa però che queto non dimora.
>
> (XIII. 67–72)

(And as to the blind, the sun does not come to them, so to these shades, of which I speak now; light from heaven does not give its bounty, so to each a thread of iron pierces and stitches up, as is done to a wild hawk, because it will not stay quiet.)

As blind, they lack what the blind lack — the sun's light — because they have their eyes sewn up, in a comparison with blinded hawks. As beggars, there is a bounty they cannot have: the light of heaven, a phrase to be taken in two senses; it is light, from the 'eye of heaven' which they do not have now because they have been blinded; it is also what the light of heaven signifies, which they could not have on earth, because of the blindess of *invidia*, and which they are deprived of now. Virgil has already referred to the power of the sun to provide guidance, XIII. 13–21, and the cantos stress the plenitude and creativity of the sun and of the

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[30] See Moshe Barasch, *Blindness: The History of a Mental Image in Western Thought* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 120.

heavens (see especially XIV. 148–50). Sapia acknowledges the new thing that is happening with Dante going through Purgatory alive, and takes it as a great token of God's love for him (ll. 145–46): this is typical of how the souls on this cornice are drawn towards a greater awareness of a creativity, which enlarges, then, on the creativity of the art evoked on the cornice of pride. The deprivation the envious suffer is because they have had their eyelids sewn up with iron thread in a comparison which makes them hawks, birds whose vision is naturally the keenest. Thus the last two lines emphasizes sight, not blindness. The blinded state, and the deprivation whereby the light of heaven has to be turned into voices, is, psychoanalytically speaking, analogous to castration, as though the affect of envy was a diminishing, bereaving state. They cannot look, so Dante fears to look at them (ll. 73–75) as though his looking upon them would be the evil eye. The power relationship inherent in having the power to look constructs envy in itself, making looking dangerously invidious. The emphasis on privation continues when Dante speaks about himself as dumb ('lo muto', l. 76) as if he has also become bereft on the cornice.

This is the only cornice where a woman (and in Canto XIII, only a woman) speaks, supplementing Mary and Aglaurus. Sapia, a Sienese lady (*c.* 1210–after 1274), is not a private person, and envy is presented as political, disturbing the city, as was the case in *Inferno*.[31] Dante has asked if there is any Italian amongst the company. The Sienese lady — not gendered until she names herself — presents herself as an older woman. She is expectant in look, even though blind, her body's attitude ghosting her disposition in life, and she corrects Dante:

> ciascuna è cittadina
> d'una vera città; ma tu vuo' dire
> che vivesse in Italia peregrina.
>   (XIII. 94–96)

(Each one is a citizen of a true city, but you would ask, who lived a pilgrim in Italy.)

OED cites Albertus Magnus (*c.* 1250) and Brunetto Latini for the *falco peregrinus*, the bird captured not from its nest but caught in its passage or pilgrimage from its breeding place. Sapia puns on her name, 'savia non fui', and shows the strength of this litotes when she calls herself mad (l. 113), defining her envy as: 'fui de li altrui danni | più lieta assai che di ventura mia' (ll. 109–10). As sinning against creativity (indicated most here by the sun's gift of itself), she says that she was not interested

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[31] On the politics, see Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory*, pp. 144–48, and Ferrante, *Political Vision*, pp. 224–28.

in her own good fortune, what had been given to her, only in what others were deprived of.

Her narrative continues that of her nephew Provenzano Salvani, whose case, discussed in Chapter 6, was Oderisi's theme (XI. 109–42). Provenzano Salvani, a counterpart to Farinata, but, unlike Farinata, not seen, was the Ghibelline, who, after the battle of Montaperti, had become the most powerful person in Siena. Oderisi says that in the time when he thought to bring all Siena into his hands, and when he lived in highest glory (ll. 122, 133), he stationed himself as a beggar in the marketplace of Siena to ransom a friend imprisoned by Charles of Anjou. Both the generosity towards a friend and the beggary are recalled in this canto: the first in the words of Orestes, the second, in the positions of the envious. In battle against the Florentines, at Colle di Val d'Elsa, on 17 June 1269, the latter aided by Charles of Anjou's troops, Salvani was caught and decapitated. Sapia's allusion to Colle in XIII. 115–19 recalls the changes that pride, such as Provenzano Salvani's, cannot cope with. Sapia showed herself so envious of the Sienese that neither their rout nor her nephew's death could prevent her taking joy in their bitterness, watching it (l. 119) and crying to God that she felt independent of him, as if envy is a state of desiring to be free of any dependency, while dependency is the state that the prayers of Peter the Comb-seller encourage. The poverty of envy appears in the comparison with her nephew. Peter the Comb-seller, existing in the marketplace, acts towards her like her nephew towards his friend. Sapia's reaction to her city's downfall makes her feel that she has no need of God, having prayed to him for that which she wanted, and which — coincidentally only — has happened. Her speech 'Omai piú non ti temo' (No longer do I fear you, l. 122), which involves pride (she speaks with 'ardita faccia', as though pride were a component within envy), resonates with Klein's analysis. It rejects God's creativity, but this has been renamed by her as oppressiveness, like wintry conditions, in a spirit that has projected onto the other the bad qualities in the self. What she means in 'Omai più non ti temo' involves an Augustine-like fear that the other — which is part of herself — is receiving something from the sources of creativity. And the line is suffused with awareness that she has been dependent on the sources of creativity, because she has prayed for something that she has been given. The speech shows self-hatred, projected onto the other.

Sapia ends with Siena as envious of Florence, and claiming to have 'ammiragli' (admirals, l. 154), the word which finishes Canto XIII. She associates Siena with her own people as 'vana', a word which associates with pride as vainglory, and echoes an earlier critique of the Sienese (*Inf.*, XIX. 121–22). Their hopes of trying to open up a seaway at Talamone — from pride born out of envy — are as futile

as the earlier ones of trying to find the Diane, a supposed river beneath the city, whose naming, if they could find it, would give them a dignity and a classical past. Both obsessions with rivers imply how much the Sienese are prepared to lose ('perderagli' and 'perderanno' are significant repetitions) in a mad desire to magnify the self.

'Purgatorio' XIV

Canto XIV opens with two other voices speaking, whose imagery implies two hawks conversing about another, free hawk. They are inspired by an awareness that Dante is there with Virgil. The first is Guido del Duca, whose opening 'Chi è costui [...]?' sounds like implicit envy. He names himself, at line 81, as a Ghibelline from Bertinoro, in the Romagna, records of whom can be found between 1199 and 1129. The other, who remains quiet, like Virgil, Guido says, at line 88, is Rinieri de Paolucci da Calboli, a Guelph from Forlì, *podestà* of Faenza (1247), Parma (1252) and Ravenna (1265). To the question whence Dante comes and who he is, and asking for consolation, Dante replies by two circumlocutions. The first refers to, but does not name, the Arno, the second means he does not name himself. Guido comments on the Arno (ll. 29–66), in lines which have been implicitly prepared for by the Sienese looking for the Diane, and his lines are full of the bounty and creativity of the river, which however meets with the pigs of the Casentino, the curs in Arezzo, and then the dogs like wolves (the Florentines) and the foxes (the Pisans). By this time, the river has become animal-like (l. 48) and like the inhabitants: Guido calls it an accursed and ill-fated ditch (l. 51). Envy has corrupted creativity: it is the 'fiero fiume' (l. 60). Guido concludes with interesting words for a blinded man: 'Io veggio tuo nepote' (l. 58), his blindness giving insight as he prophesies the viciousness of Rinieri's grandson, Fulcieri da Calboli, *podestà* of Florence in 1303. The hunter of the wolves, which recalls Ugolino's dream (*Inf.*, XXXIII. 29) becomes more terrifying than they, as he sells his enemies, then slaughters them, being like the tyrants bathed in blood in *Inferno* XII:

> Sanguinosco esce della trista selva,
> lasciala tal, che di qui a mille anni
> nello stato primaio non si rinselva.
>
> (ll. 64–66)

(He comes forth bloody from the sad wood, leaving it such that for more than a thousand years it does not re-wood itself to its first state.)

'Trista' is repeated as the other soul becomes saddened at the news (l. 71), and it engenders the mourning of the later verses, the *ubi sunt* material of lines 97–111, and the weeping recorded in line 103, which is intensified in his last lines of Guido (ll. 124–26). The dialogue has been reversed as Dante asks the spirits who they are, and Guido implicitly rebukes him for not having said who he is, a diffidence taken as a lack of generosity, fitting the meanness of envy. Guido replies by naming them both (ll. 76–90) and commenting on his own envy as a passionate quality:

> Fu il sangue mio d'invidia sì rïarso,
> che se veduto avesse uom farsi lieto,
> visto m'avresti di livore sparso.
> Di mia semente cotal paglia mieto.
> (ll. 82–85)

(My blood so burned with envy that if I had seen a man make himself glad, you would have seen me become livid. Of my sowing, such straw I reap.)

The bloodiness of Fulcieri da Calboli is echoed in the blood burning with envy, just as Aglauros burned, like a slow burning that gave out no flames (*Met.* II. 809–11). The man's exterior becomes livid, blueish-leaden in colour, like bruising, as if he has been wounded, affected within. The distortion repeats the metamorphoses of people into animals that he has spoken of. The canto greatly expands the qualities associated with envy, which ceases to have even the appearance of being a single state. In parallel with the earlier threnody for the Arno, Guido del Duca speaks of the Romagna (ll. 91–126), introducing his enemy, the Guelf, as 'the praise and the honour' of the house of Calboli, and praising his worth, before saying that his 'blood' (again the significant word) is stripped of the good required 'al vero e al trastullo' (for truth and pleasure, l. 93). The creativity that produces art is spoken of, as replaced by 'venenosi sterpi'. There is a hint that the values of the previous cornice are being recalled, especially when Ugolin d'Azzo, son in law of Provenzan Salvani, is remembered (l. 105), and when he recalls:

> le donne e' cavalier, li affanni e li agi
> che ne 'nvogliava amore e cortesia
> là dove il cuor son fatti sì malvagi.
> (ll. 109–11)

(The ladies and knights, the travail and the sports of which love and courtesy enamoured us, there where hearts are become so bad.)

The loss of these things, which recalls *Inferno*, V. 71 — Dante's lament for 'le donne antiche e' cavalieri' — and which Guido remembers as a man of an older period, makes envy accord with a modern condition. It implies the difficulty of reading the past without it becoming an occasion for envy, directed at the present from an idealized sense of the past. Guido's lament, which shows its idealization, since he existed in that past and was envious then, is part of his complexity, part of a passionate generosity which is indistinguishable from his envy, but also part of a continuing resentment. It recalls Nietzsche's sense of the dangers of history, that it weakens the self, making it feel, or rather, create, its own inadequacy in the face of the past.[32] How much Guido del Duca is a man of history is apparent even from his prophetic words, with which he so distresses Rinieri. Envy seems more modern, perhaps, than pride. Guido continues through five more *terzine* which name the present in terms of degeneracy, and of lack of potency ('Ben fa Bagnacaval, che non rifiglia' — Bagnacavallo does well that it bears no more sons, l. 115), another suggestion that envy dries up fertility, including Guido's envy.

Cain

The cornice of pride began with Virgil looking at the sun, the day's eye, but, not separate nor distant from them, but source of warmth and direction (XIII. 13–21). Throughout the cantos, loss of sight interplays with the significance of sound and hearing, sight and hearing being both 'the doors of the frail mind'.[33] Hearing, stressed since Sapia can hear Dante breathing (XIII. 132) and the souls can tell by the sound that Dante and Virgil are moving off in the right direction (XIV. 127–29) may be as much an incitement to envy as seeing. This is the ambiguity apparent in that the voices heard are both examples of envy and its opposite. Virgil calls the second group, Cain and Aglauros, who are heard like two thunderclaps, examples of the hard 'bit' (*camo*) which ought to restrain people within their proper bounds. The separating power of envy appears in Cain's voice which is compared to lightning that splits the air, as much as it is compared to the

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[32] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life', in *Untimely Meditations*, trans. by R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 83. Nietzsche discusses the 'weakened personality' produced through study of history.

[33] From a Latin epigram quoted in *Confessio amantis* — 'Visus et auditus sunt ostia mentis'; see V. A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 24–25.

non-visual thunder. Virgil comments implicitly on Dante's terror at hearing the thundering voices, his need to draw near to Virgil:

> Ma voi prendete l'esca, sì che l'amo
> de l'antico avversario a sé vi tira;
> e però poco val freno o richiamo.
>   Chiamavi 'l cielo e'ntorno vi si gira,
> mostrandovi le sue bellezze etterne,
> e l'occhio vostro pur a terra mira;
>   onde vi batte chi tutto discerne.
>
> (XIV. 145–51)

(But you take the bait, so that the hook of the old adversary draws you to himself, and therefore bridle or re-calling avails you little. The heavens call to you and turn round you, showing you their eternal beauties, and your eye only turns to earth, therefore he chastises you who sees everything.)

The bait taken is like the fruit that Eve took, because she saw the tree was 'good for food, and that it was it was 'pleasant to the eyes and a tree to be desired to make one wise' (Genesis 3. 6). These things correspond to 'all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life' (I John 2. 16) — the lust of the eyes relating to the eye of envy. The result is that little avails the 'bridle' — the examples of envy punished, which include the *duro camo* (bit and bridle). In saying this, Virgil suggests that the voices of Cain and Aglauros as always implicitly there to be heard. They are implicit in the air, as the *richiamo*, the lure to catch the hawk (as in *Inf.*, III. 117), echoing in the following line, 'Chiamavi'. The revolving heavens act as a lure, like the cord whirled round to allure the hawk. The visual is expressed in the audial, as with the coincidence of the lightning and the thunder when Cain is heard. Lacan says that 'it is insofar as all human desire is based on castration that the eye assumes its virulent, aggressive function, and not simply its luring function as in nature'.[34] The eye as the lure implies the power of the gaze, which makes the subject feel that he is in the field of vision. It contrasts with the aggressive envious eye, which looks so, out of a fantasized fear of its own castration. Everything that reaches the subject has this character of incitement as a lure. But a failure within the self that is looked at means that the eye that looks askance turns towards the earth, askew from the visual or audial signal; so that God who 'tutto discerne' must turn to other chastisement: commenting on the punishment of the blinded souls on the cornice.

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[34] Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts*, p. 118.

Taking Lacan's argument that desire is based on castration-fear, which, in either gender, must be interpreted as the self's need to conform to the patriarchal order which is the realm of the 'symbolic', it will be seen that this Freudian-derived psychoanalysis makes envy relate to lack. Sapia knows that her envy is a mark that she lacks the goodness inherent within God, whereas Guido del Duca is envious in the social context of a man who, already envious, looks back on the past to idealize it, invests it with a false sense of complete goodness, so making him envious, and helpless, wanting rather to weep than to talk, so much has 'nostra ragion' constrained him (but he was the one who did all the talking). He is marked by lack, like the two voices that follow him, Cain and Aglauros. Both are classic illustrations of envy, Aglauros obviously, from her place in Ovid, and Cain, on account of Augustine, who says that Cain was marked by envy when he slew Abel, and who makes envy constitutive of the earthly city: Abel did not aim at power in the city which his brother was founding, Augustine remarks: the comment adding to the meaning of Sapia's words in XIII. 94–96. 'Cain's was the diabolical envy that the wicked feel for the good simply because they are good, while they themselves are evil', says Augustine, seeing in this the opposition between the City of God and the city of men (*City of God*, XV. 5, p. 640).

Cain's voice coming and going, makes him still the vagrant, as in his life. He is heard saying 'Anciderammi qualunque m'apprende' (l. 133). It is another of those three-worded lines; it has the emphatic power of the thunderclap. Cain dreads the reaction of others, out of fear. Having killed to be free of his brother, his envy creates innumerable others whose looks will menace him with the evil eye; indeed he must be marked in order not to be killed, which of course turns eyes upon him. The rolling stone is followed by the static stone, by Aglauros, whose petrification exemplifies lack of autonomy, which associates with the castration fear (being petrified by the power of Medusa). A brother (Cain) and sister (Aglauros) come together, as two images, into a non-relationship with each other, appearing from different sources, not seen together; their isolation anticipating the discussion of exclusion in Canto XV (ll. 43–57).

Canto XV, line 6, records that in Purgatory it was now the time of Vespers (i.e., three in the afternoon). The afternoon sun is shining into the face, but Dante feels now a greater light, that of the approaching angel whose invitation to ascend contrasts with the downwards-rushing Arno. The Beatitude 'Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy' (Matthew 5. 7) follows the angel's appearance, and Dante asks what Guido del Duca, meant by his self-reproach: 'o gente umana, perché poni 'l core | là 've mestier di consorte divieto?' (why, human race, do you place the heart there, where exclusion of partnership is necessary? XIV. 86–87). Virgil replies (ll. 46–57) that Guido del Duca reproves in others his

own exclusiveness in order to have to mourn less for it and contrasts two forms of desire, one for that which is diminished by sharing, and the other for that which enriches the self by sharing. He then gives a long answer (ll. 64–81) which dematerializes the 'good' that is to be shared, and which implies a community in heaven ('in quel chiostro', l. 57), enriched by goodness and by love (placed, by Giotto, as the opposite of envy):

> E quanta gente piú là sù s'intende,
> più v'è da bene amare, e più vi s'ama,
> e come specchio l'uno a l'altro rende.
>   (ll. 73–75)

(And how many more people up there love, the more there are who love well, and the more loving is there, and like a mirror, each gives back to the other.)

What is virtually the last image of the episode is a reference to the mirror. Blind eyes could see nothing, but Dante has already invoked mirroring in the canto which started with an allusion to the end of the third hour (nine a.m.) and the beginning of the day (six a.m.). In this first *terzina*, time is named backwards, playing 'a guisa di fanciullo scherza' (in the manner of a child, l. 3). The time taken as normative, it must be understood, is that of Jerusalem. The equivalent space of time, between three p.m. and six p.m. was then present in Purgatory, and both times are seen as liminal ones where the young sun appears to be at play. Another mirroring is given: it was Vespers time in Purgatory and midnight 'here' (*qui*, l. 6) in Italy; Dante is, as it were, in Purgatory *and* in Italy. The angel's appearance is described in terms of optics: the rays of light that reach water or a mirror leap off it at a 90 degree angle — just as, measuring the period of the sun's turning from dawn to dusk on a straight line, a 180 degree angle, the period from the third hour to Vespers means that the sun has turned 90 degrees. This is all 'come mostra esperienza ed arte' (as experience and art shows, l. 21): Dante says that light strikes the eyes from outside, and is the source of vision (*Convivio*, III. 9. 10); in the image, the light from the angel strikes his eyes as though these were a mirror. Merleau-Ponty's, and Lacan's, sense that the subject is created by being looked at seems anticipated here. The angel mirrors the light of God. The eyes of souls all mirror each other, light striking the one and moving off at an angle of 90 degrees, so that each in turn is freshly illuminated, with no exclusive raying of light from one to another.[35] The cornice of the blind ends with mutual, non-envying, mirroring.

[35] For the mirror image in *Purgatorio*, see *Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise*, trans. by Mark Musa, 3 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984–86), II, 166.

Overcoming Anger

The cornice of anger introduces a word heard once later in *Purgatorio*, and once in *Paradiso*, an allusion to the 'modern'. While the rareness of the word in Dante may make for an ambiguity about whether the text wants to use that term at all, that it is there at least suggests that its own discourse is not single, that it is a text in movement from older to more contemporary forms of thinking and representation. *Moderno* never appeared in *Inferno*, perhaps because that text was the prison-house of old sad spirits ('li antichi spiriti dolenti', *Inf.*, I. 116), but now it becomes an issue. The link between modernity and anger in the text becomes teasing: Dante tells the wrathful soul Marco Lombardo whom he meets, and who is learning to control his anger in conditions of dense and acrid smoke, that he is privileged to see God's court 'in a manner altogether wholly outside modern use' (in modo tutto fuor del moderno uso, *Purg.*, XVI. 42). Dante disavows being modern (this is not the case on the cornice of lust), but the use of the term indicates discontinuous moments in the text that are signs of an emerging modernity. Anger, we have seen, was given a prominent place by Aristotle, and rejected by Seneca: its presence may seem to be the expression of the soul's sure existence, but here it breaks down such stability of self-representation, which is not only the source of further anger, but part of its fascination.

Dante differentiates himself from the modern; perhaps that involves humility, if being modern is an ideal. Marco Lombardo is also ambiguously modern: he turns back in nostalgia towards the past. Perhaps being modern breaks down certainties in ways of representation. On this cornice, there is black smoke which, following the cornice of envy, cuts out, like it, the subject's dependency on the eye. Dante has visions, whose effect is to make him act like a drunk (XV. 123). And in anger, as this section of *Purgatorio* gives it, there is a breakdown and taking over of the subject in control: anger as excess is indefinable, not a single emotion, but double, its constitutive parts throughout being matters for displacement. The

episode runs from Canto XV, line 82, through Canto XVI, to Canto XVII, line 69. As with the purgings of the other vices in *Purgatorio*, the meeting with a particular soul (here the virtually unknown Marco Lombardo) on the particular cornice of the mountain Dante and Virgil are ascending, is preceded by presentations of the opposite virtue: here gentleness, forbearance, mansuetude, tameness, as they are followed by examples of the sin's effects. The instances come as what is subjectively perceived. The gentleness comes from Mary, Pisistratus, and Stephen the martyr; in Canto XVII, the wrathful souls are Procne, Haman, from the Book of Esther, and Amata and her daughter Lavinia, from the *Aeneid*. While these visions, indicative of a powerful inner emotional life, enact rather than comment openly on wrath, the canto in the middle talks about everything else, as though the angry man, Marco Lombardo, was a modern rationalist able to discourse on free will, mind, the knowledge of good and evil, justice and government, and the crucial relationship between the Roman Empire and the Papacy. The text's silence about wrath is the 'other' in all this, but this is not because there is nothing to say. Another text is implied in the smoke that blacks out vision, but which the text displaces, hardly commenting on it. Wrath implies passion, passivity, the subject being made to suffer, made to undergo. These cantos make passion primary for a construction of the self, including its rationality, which is not a transparent, universal, unitary state.

Dante enters into the punishment, in a way that happens again only with the fire-purging lust, at the end of the third day. As there is no smoke without fire, so there are important relations between the cantos of anger (smoke) and lust (fire); cantos which show the subject possessed and defined by emotions of reaction and desire; wrath having the erotic as its unconscious and lust touched by erotic sadness, if melancholy is displaced but present in Canto XVI. In the way that the subject experiences the smoke (in Canto XVI) and the fire (Cantos XXVI and XXVII), a sense of distance, and of rational subjectivity, is overthrown by a series of sudden interventions. In Canto XVI, these include the one made by Marco Lombardo, heard but unseen. He breaks in on Dante from his own prayings for peace with 'Now who are you?' (Or tu chi se'? XVI. 25), which presumably resumes his impatient nature heard also in his exclamation 'uhi!' (XVI. 64). In the frequency and the violence of these moments, the narrator receives disconfirming shocks. This continues from the beginning of the sequence when Dante is decentred, seeming to be in 'an ecstatic vision' (una vïsione | estatica, XV. 85–86), when he suddenly sees people in a temple, in the first of the three examples of gentleness. The enjambment emphasizes how he has been pulled out of himself, as he will explain in Canto XVII, lines 13–14, when apostrophizing that which is nothing: the power of fantasy:

O imaginativa, che ne rube
talvolta sì di fuor, ch'om non s'accorge
perché dintorno suonin mille tube,
    chi move te, se 'l senso non ti porge?
                        (XVII. 13–16)

(O imagination, that sometimes snatches us away from outside conditions, so that we do
not listen even though a thousand trumpets sound round about, what moves you if sense
does not give you nothing?)

Sensory perception has no effect when the imagination works; fantasy steals us
from the outside world. Ecstasy takes the soul out of itself, but also out of the
world, away from its stimuli.

The first vision draws on Mary's words in Luke 2. 48. Mary is not quite in the
room, but is on the point of entering — 'in su l'entrar' (XV. 88). Nor are her words
heard so much as intuited from her description: 'a lady with the sweet attitude
of a mother' (una donna [...] con atto dolce di madre, XV. 88–89). The non-
presence, the trace, of the mother appears, in this visionary and kinetic state where
no place or voice quite exists for her. She is followed by two other visionary
encounters — Pisistratus and his wife, and Stephen and his murderers. They differ
from the example of Mary by the doubleness they evoke, gentleness and anger put
together. In what they suggest about wrath, they encode that quality with the
erotic (another way of recalling this cornice's associations with the cornice of
lust). Pisistratus's wife, like Mary, is in a state of grief (*dolor*); but she is also
scornful and angry on behalf of her daughter, because a youth in love with her
came up to her in the street and kissed her. In this offstage narrative, wrath is
inseparable from the erotic and its violence, which in this context could imply
attempted rape. The erotic entails attack and a reaction creating its own violence,
which intrudes into the public order of Athens, a regime established after a
dispute between a god and a goddess, resolved when Athena produced the olive
tree (peace and fertility) as the best gift for humankind. The doubleness of
attitude shown by Pisistratus's wife, which shows the instability of any settlement
of peace or unification of the *polis* displaces the erotic while her words displace
her daughter, who does not appear and whose narrative is unrepresented. The
doubleness exists in her speech.[1] Her anger is inseparable from representation in
language and gesture; her passion is encoded, not outside the text.

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[1] Corrado Calenda notes her speech to be marked by periphrasis, antonomasia, hyperbole,
metonymy, paranomasia, and use of diastole — see his '*Purgatorio* XV', *Modern Language Notes*,
108 (1993), 15–30 (p. 26).

In the third example, Stephen's murderers are 'burning in the fire of wrath' (accese in foco d'ira, XV. 106), a line which while recalling Aristotle's *De anima* on anger as a 'blazing of the blood around the heart', has resonances of Dantean love poetry.[2] The fire links hatred and love and wrath and passion. Pisistratus in the second example asks what should we do to those who desire our ill if he who loves us is condemned by us ('che mal ne disira | se quei che ci ama è per noi condannato, ll. 104–05). His rhetoric changes the representation of events by transmuting the violence of the youth into love (and each expression of gentleness in these three examples is shown in the rhetoric of the gentle person), but it also turns anger into desire, eroticizes it. Pisistratus's question is answered implicitly and brutally by the death of Stephen, which, working with Pisistratus's statement, suggests that hatred may displace sexual desire, the more so as Stephen the man is called a boy, 'un giovinetto', evoking an affective response, even eroticizing him. The symmetry of one canto number in relation to its equivalent number in *Inferno* makes one the unconscious of another and gives point to Marco Lombardo's reference to valour and courtesy ('valore e cortesia', XVI. 116) because this replays the enquiry of the sodomite Iacopo Rusticucci about the existence of 'cortesia e valor' in contemporary Florence (*Inf.*, XVI. 67). The cantos describing the sodomites and burning sands of their lust become an underlay for these cantos of anger, which in turn activate a rereading of those cantos. They situate sexual desire in relation to the *polis*, and to the concept of *civitas*. In the case of Stephen, lynch law expressed against a passive youth suggests the overdetermined nature of passion. The knot of anger (*Purg.*, XVI. 24) is hard to untie because of those strands both of sexual desire and of reaction to it, the return of those emotions in a different form. The reactive attack on the helpless youth is also encoded within the language of Dantean love poetry, for Stephen prays 'with that look which unlocks pity' (con quello aspetto che pietà diserra, l. 114) — like a *fin amors* lover interceding with a stone woman (a *donna pietra*).[3]

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[2] Aristotle, *De anima*, I. 1. 403a32, quoted in Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, p. 246. 'Dolce' (sweet) applied to Mary (l. 89) recalls the point that Dante's love poetry is 'the sweet *new* style' (il dolce stil nuovo, *Purg.*, XXIV. 57; my emphasis). The filiations of love poetry link this kindling of fire in the heart with Francesca's 'Love which is quickly kindled in the gentle heart' (amor ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende, *Inf.*, V. 100), which derives from Dante's master, Guinizzelli's 'Foco d'amore in gentil cor s'aprende' (the fire of love is caught in the gentle heart): *The Poetry of Guido Guinizzeli*, ed. by Robert Edwards (New York: Garland, 1987), p. 20.

[3] Dante wrote love poems to a woman of stone, a *donna pietra*. The words of the crowd stoning Stephen, 'Kill, Kill' (Martira, martira, l. 180), replay one of the fantasies of Dante's *Vita nuova*, from 'Donna pietosa e di novella etate': 'Women's faces appeared angrily to me, that kept

This compares with the stoning of Stephen, an act which might have a veiled homoeroticism behind it, the more so as it is a quasi-burial, repressing the other, putting him out of sight: wrath concealing self-hatred.

The examples of gentleness give anger an unconscious, showing desire's reactive side: the smoke of the fire of Canto XXVI. Such double emotions as construct anger meet, but are not reconciled, in the narrator, who can have no self-possession. Virgil asks him, as he reels under the effect of these visions, 'What is the matter, that you cannot hold yourself properly?' (Che hai che non ti puoi tenere? XV. 120). In such a moment he must keep going; the reference to the lingering of sloth (*pigri*) in line 137 is significant and anticipates the following cornice.[4] The disturbing quality of the passions occupies a space both inside and eccentric to Dante. His self-control is further overthrown as the rolling smoke makes him unable to keep his eyes open.

The smoke makes spatial definition complex. Dante's body, unlike the bodies of the souls, cuts through it (XVI. 25). Other souls are part of the atmosphere, not different from the passion haunting them, their bodies not resisting the smoke. The narrator's body keeps him within linear time (XVI. 26–27), but the cantos hardly keep bodies as a separate marker of individuality. As 'ecstasy' suggests, the body becomes like the smoke: obscuring, but also open, permeable, no barrier to the perception of inwardness: Virgil tells Dante that if he had a hundred masks on his face, his thoughts would not be shut off from him,[5] and the body's porousness, its openness, comes at the beginning of Canto XVII in an image of blind moles seeing through their skin (ll. 1–3). Inside/outside divisions (which license the soul/body dichotomy) are threatened as by the *imaginativa*.[6] Examples of wrath (XVII. 19–39) play out a momentary and unstable drama in the mind, cancelling out the body. It is not that he sees visions so much as these images of anger are splittings in the mind: momentarily he is these wrathful, envious, weeping people: Procne, Haman, Amata the suicide, and her daughter Lavinia. Being snatched away from outside conditions means that in this last case, he becomes inseparable

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saying, 'You will die!' 'You will die!": 'visi di donne m'apparver crucciati | che mi dicean pur, Morra'ti, morra'ti' (*Vita nuova*, 23. 41–42).

[4] The words *pigrizia* and *pigri* appear only in *Purgatorio*, applying to Belaqua (IV. 111 and 121), and in XXIII. 114. With Belaqua, it appears that sloth can be a sister: a contrast to Leah and Rachel, Leah the sister representing the active life.

[5] 'Ed ei, "Se tu avessi cento larve | sovra la faccia, non mi sarian chiuse | le tue cogitazion"' (XV. 127–29). The images going through him construct so many *personae* (masks) as affects.

[6] See K. Foster, 'Human Spirit in Action'; for the background arguments, see Harvey, *Inward Wits*; Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, pp. 119–39.

from two women. When the light, which should restore clarity and singleness, strikes him after the visions, Dante still cannot see: 'But as at the sun that oppresses our sight, and by its excess veils its figure, so was my power failing me' (Ma come al sol che nostra vista grava | e per soverchio sua figura vela, | così la mia virtù mancava, XVII. 52–54). As the smoke was excess itself and cancelled out all stable representations of people, so the sun's excess (*soverchio*) cancels out its own representation. Cognition, imaged in references to seeing, is baffled. As Lacan says, 'the beauty effect is a blindness effect'.[7] Excess suggests that there is nothing else, except the veil.[8] The veil and excess are brought together in this image, suggesting that the power of excess, which may also be the power of allegory, allows for no discrete form to be seen.

Dante could see the proud and the envious, and keep apart from them, but cannot remain separate from anger. While smoke evokes *Inferno* generally,[9] the anger is specifically comparable to the conditions of *Inferno*, VII. 115–30, describing the wrathful, and, importantly, the melancholics, the *accidiosi*, whose punishment is to lie underwater in the slime (see Chapter 8). Smoke in *Purgatorio* XV recalls the linking of wrath and acedia in *Inferno*. Aquinas refers to those who retain their anger (the *amari*, the bitter ones), who are

> insufferable to themselves and, above all, to their friends, with whom they cannot live together in harmony; and for this reason they are called 'bitter'. And the people who are most disposed to this kind of excess are the melancholic, in whom sense impressions persist for a long time because of the density of the humour.[10]

Melancholy as a medical condition and acedia (becoming redefined in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as sloth) coincide with each other, acedia including sadness or sorrow (*tristitia*) in its scope.[11] Bitterness, the black bile of

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[7] Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalyis, 1959–1960: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, VII*, trans. by Dennis Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 281.

[8] The veil suggests allegorical writing covering a literal meaning: see *Inf.*, IX. 16–63, *Purg.*, VIII. 19–21, and see above, pp. 78–79.

[9] Several word-images recur from *Inferno*: the smoke 'aspro pelo' (l. 6) echoes the 'selva selvaggia e aspra e forte' of *Inferno* I. 5, and 'smarrisi' (l. 11) the opening of *Inferno* (lost — 'smarrito', I. 3) and 'l'aere amaro e sozzo' recalls 'tant' è amaro' (*Inf.* I. 7). The harsh smoke recalls the atmosphere of the City of Dis, where the smoke is most bitter ('ove il fummo è più acerbo', *Inf.*, IX. 75).

[10] Quoted from Aquinas's paraphrase of Aquinas's *Ethics*, IV. 11. 1126a; see Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, p. 261.

[11] On the extensions of anger, see Penelope Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 28, 51, 52. *Furor* (madness), which Dante's Amata suffers from in Virgil's text, she shows to be differentiated

melancholy, and the black night of the canto's opening go together; Marco Lombardo combines in his words and exclamation impetuosity and the bitterness of melancholy: 'He put forth a deep sigh, that grief constrained into "Uhi", and then began, "Brother, the world is blind, and truly you come from it"' (Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in 'uhi!', | mise fuor prima; e poi cominciò: 'Frate, | lo mondo è cieco e tu vien ben da lui', XVI. 64–66). Blindness was the condition of those who could not see the sun when melancholy darkened them with its smoke. Smoke fits with the blindness passion induces, bitterness with the negativity of someone who writes off the world by saying he had knowledge of it (l. 47). Marco Lombardo affects Dante, who responds with an equal negation, making the smoke symbolize malice, and so violence, and wrath: 'The world is indeed completely deserted of all virtue, as you say to me, and is covered with heavy malice' (Lo mondo è ben cosí tutto diserto | d'ogne virtute, come tu mi sone, | e di malizia gravido e coverto, ll. 58–60).

Hot anger and cold melancholy as discussed in classical psychology are elided in these cantos. The two states of heat and cold may be bridged, as in Freud, whose work discusses 'Discontents' (*Unbehagen*) rather than anger, but whose 'Mourning and Melancholia' speculates about the violence nascent in love for another. The melancholic is inwardly angry, passively aggressive, relating melancholia to feelings of 'ambivalence' about a loved object.[12] 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes' had discussed a destructiveness in love, which incorporates or devours, 'a type of love which is consistent with abolishing the object's separate existence and which may therefore be described as ambivalent'.[13] Love takes over the other in an inevitable step, so that 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes' declares hatred — a 'primordial repudiation of the external world with its outpouring of stimuli' — older than love. In 'Mourning and Melancholia' love to the other takes the form of trying to associate the other with the self, in 'narcissistic identification':

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from *ira* (anger) by Richard of St Victor; but Doob adds 'wrath may be madness in that the wrathful man voluntarily ignores his reason and thereby sins' (p. 65). For medieval wrath, see Chaucer, 'The Parson's Tale', ll. 531–675. On anger, see *Anger's Past*, ed. by Rosenwein. The words of the Pseudo-Hugh are quoted from Richard E. Barton, '"Zealous Anger" and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France', ibid., pp. 153–70 (p. 155): 'These vices, that is pride, envy and anger, are the most noticed by God, for pride denies God, envy blames God and anger drives God away' (Haec igitur vita, id est superbia, ira maxime Deo adversantur, Sperbia namque Deum negat, invidia accusat, ira fugat; PL, CLXXV, col. 775).

[12] Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *SE*, XIV, 256–58.

[13] Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', *SE*, XIV, 139.

> If the love for the object — a love which cannot be given up though the object itself is
> given up [as in the loss of a loved person] — takes refuge in narcissistic identification, then
> the hate comes into operation on this substitutive object, abusing it, debasing it, making
> it suffer and deriving sadistic satisfaction from its suffering. The self-tormenting in
> melancholia, which is without doubt enjoyable, signifies [...] a satisfaction of trends of
> sadism and hate which relate to an object and which have been turned round upon the
> subject's own self. (*SE*, XIV, 251)

Melancholic self-hatred displaces attitudes toward the other: the melancholic
has internalized the external world, made him/herself the other. Both Marco
Lombardo and Dante in response react too nihilistically to the outside world, as
though the smoke itself, compared to the world's malice, constituted the feared
Freudian 'outpouring of stimuli' which must be repudiated. Expressions of con-
tempt for the world, which exist in a continuum from saying the world is blind or
opposing the lover in the street and extend to stoning Stephen and to Amata's
suicide in Canto XVII, voice anger, self-hatred (the self as other), and melancholy.

Anger can only questionably be called a discrete state. In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*,
it was seen as a desire for revenge, accompanied by pain on account of an apparent
slight to oneself or one's own, the slight being unjustified. It responds to an
unjustified insult, a practical emotion aiming at revenge (since where there is no
possibility of revenge, Aristotle believes that anger is absent). Pleasure in revenge,
which may be compared to Freud's sense of the pleasure involved in melancholia,
is at the prospect of annihilating the other — that which is both in the self and
external to it. Virgil, in Canto XVII, implicitly criticizes Aristotle's view of anger,
while glossing him when he refers to envy as the soul making itself sad (*s'attrista*).
In his note, Singleton quotes Aquinas that the wrathful man is 'displeased
[*tristatur*] [...] with the injury which he deems done to himself, and through this
displeasure [*tristitia*] he is moved to seek vengeance'.[14] The sorrow that is envy
and the sorrow that is anger, Virgil says, is wept for in the first three cornices
(XVII. 124–25). Sadness is driven out by sadness, but envy and anger become each
other, both perhaps relating to sloth (*accidia*, XVIII. 32), punished in the night-
time, under the moon, as anger is punished in a day made night. Envy, wrath,
and sloth echo each other.[15] In the last vision, Amata's suicide, because she fears

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[14] Dante, *Purgatorio*, ed. and trans. by Singleton, p. 402; *ST*, II-II, q. 36, a. i., resp.

[15] 'Dispettosa' appeared with Michal ('come donna dispettosa e trista', X. 69), as Pisistratus's
wife has both great scorn ('gran dispetto') and tears streaming down her face (XV. 94–96); Haman
who exemplifies more envy against the just than anger, when crucified remains 'scornful and
fierce' (dispettoso e fero, XVII. 26), recalling Farinata, 'as if he held hell in great scorn' (com' avesse
l'inferno in gran dispitto, *Inf.*, X. 36) and Capaneus the blasphemer 'scornful and tortured'

the loss of her daughter to Aeneas, leads to her daughter Lavinia's weeping ('piangendo forte'). Her lament echoes Filippo Argenti, the wrathful sinner in *Inferno* who bites himself with rage, and says, 'You see I am one who weeps' (Vedi che son un che piango, *Inf.*, VIII. 36). It comments on the melancholia of her mother, whose suicide demonstrates that 'in mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty: in melancholia it is the ego itself'.[16] In a vision, Dante imagines Lavinia's words to her dead mother:

> O regina,
> Perché per ira hai voluto esser nulla?
>   Ancisa t'hai per non perder Lavina;
> or m'hai perduta! Io son essa che lutto,
> madre, a la tua pria ch'a l'altrui ruina.
>   (XVII. 35–39)

(O Queen, wherefore, through anger, have you willed yourself to be nothing? You have killed yourself not to lose Lavinia; now you have lost me. I am she who weeps, mother, at yours, rather than at another's ruin.)

To end the visions and the whole episode with the daughter's mourning and with the word *ruina* brings about the desolation of the melancholy vision that Walter Benjamin, in *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, describes as basic to Baroque — and so to modern — allegory: allegory being, like anger, loss of form, awareness of ruin, of a breakdown of thought, of representation being unable to sustain a clear signified.[17] Significantly, these near allegorical examples of anger in Canto XVII discount the New Testament and revert to Old Testament and classical sources, and illustrate a narrative regression which implies emotions bound to end with ruin and the fragment. Destructiveness becomes pervasive.

(dispettoso e torto, *Inf.*, XIV. 47). These differing characteristics are retained in wrath. In *Inferno*, 'the spirits of those that anger overcame' (l'anime di color ciu vinse l'ira, *Inf.*, VII. 116) include those who were 'tristi' (VII. 121). (Farinata would be an example of mad wrath, since for Penelope Doob, *furor* in the Middle Ages was the condition of those involved in 'false doctrine or heretical error' (*Nebuchadnezzar's Children*, p. 30). Frederick the Second, in hell for his heresy, alongside Farinata (*Inf.*, X. 119) is spoken of positively in *Purgatorio*, XVI. 117).

[16] Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *SE*, XIV, 246.

[17] For Benjamin, 'allegories are in the realm of thoughts what ruins are in the realm of things' (Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. by John Osborne (London: New Left Books, 1977), p. 178). John McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antimonies of Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 143, comments: 'Since allegories themselves are fragments of meaning, shreds of a lost whole, ruins are allegories of allegory.'

The metamorphosis of Procne, who, in Canto XVII, reacts to the rape of her sister by killing her son suggests a narrative that contrasts first with the example of Mary with her son, but more so with Pisistratus's wife, angry about the potentiality of rape in the case of her daughter. The crucifixion of Haman, who in his anger even in death contrasts with Stephen, and the suicide of Amata, and Lavinia's lament, completes the regression, and adds to wrath's implicatedness in the erotic and melancholic, its associations with despair. For Freud, a melancholic's suicide (is there any other?) indicates that the self makes itself an object, directing 'against itself the hostility which relates to an object and which represents the ego's original reaction to objects in the external world'.[18] That reaction to the other is erotic, or reacts to the erotic. The contempt Pisistratus's wife feels for those 'daring arms' (braccia ardite) that have held her daughter, and which her speech has eroticized, consciously and unconsciously, is paralleled by Amata. In the *Aeneid*, Dante's source, Amata is stirred up by Allecto, the principle of violence and of *furor*, to incite opposition to Aeneas. She is marked by 'a woman's distress, a woman's passion' (femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant). Amata kills herself because she thinks that Turnus, whom she wants to marry Lavinia, is slain. In remorse she calls out that she is the guilty source and spring of sorrows ('se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum').[19] In Dante she kills herself not to lose Lavinia, in anger directed at Aeneas. In the *Aeneid*, she raves madly, tearing her hair and cheeks. In contrast, 'Io son essa che lutto, | madre' makes Amata's anger a deliberate statement or staging of passion, contrasting with the daughter's desolation, where her subjectivity, 'I am she who weeps' (Io so essa), is identified with mourning, as the mother's nothingness, as 'nulla', is also identified with her grief.

The enjambment in Lavinia's words, emphasizing *madre* foregrounds the mother and her loss, and brings out what is implicit in Virgil: the relationship between gender and passion. Four of the six exempla are mothers — Mary, Pisistratus's wife, Procne, Amata. All suggest some feature of failure. If loss of the mother is, as in Julia Kristeva on melancholia, so primal,[20] so much willed perforce by the subject trying to constitute its separate identity and yet so mourned at the same time, the text must invest the mother with loss and suffering: even with

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[18] Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *SE*, XIV, 252.

[19] *Aeneid*, VII. 345; XII. 600: Virgil, *Complete Works*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, rev. edn, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1967), II, 26, 27, 340–41.

[20] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. by Leon Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 56–89.

Mary: 'Behold, your father and I sought you weeping' (Ecco, dolenti, lo tuo padre e io | ti cercavamo', XV. 91–92). The mother's presence is not affirmed, is ambivalent; her separate being is overcome by passion. Amata and Lavinia's anger is not contained; it produces its own excess, first mother, now daughter. A narrative pattern that ends with suicide threatens to reverse the idea of growth and ascent in *Purgatorio*. The telos of lives touched by anger seems only to be ruin, the word resonating in Lavinia's speech.

The ruin and melancholy associate, since Benjamin links both to the violence of the 'destructive character', whose 'deepest emotion is an insuperable mistrust of the course of things and a readiness at all times to recognise that everything can go wrong'. While it is true that 'where others encounter walls or mountains, there too he sees a way' yet 'what exists he reduces to rubble, not for the sake of the rubble, but for that of the way leading through it'.[21] Melancholy in Benjamin is part of a perhaps salutary pathology of modernity, perceiving or contemplating ruin or bringing it about, including the ruin of systems of thought. The affect may be summed up in terms of a double valency, seen in these cantos. Negatively it is a grief for what the subject cannot possess, as even with Mary, or with the two mothers protecting their daughters against another. It mourns its own insufficiency and tries to produce myths of the past, like Marco Lombardo's myth of Lombardy, to compensate for history or to recuperate its own past. It also relates, more creatively, to a thinking in Benjamin that destroys ordered cognitions, hierarchies of thought building towards a totality, and ordered representational thinking.[22] This reading of melancholy makes it the other of anger as the state of the subject's assertion of his being. It subverts what anger tries to do, as anger also subverts the self.

The anger Aristotle describes is for Nietzsche reactive, the product of *ressentiment*, the quality by which the modern self protects itself by staking out its autonomy. In *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Nietzsche thinks of a de-creative, negative melancholia which is 'sullenly wrathful that time does not run back; "That which

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[21] Walter Benjamin, 'The Destructive Character', in *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1979), pp. 157–59 (pp. 158, 159).

[22] Benjamin, *Origin of German Tragic Drama*, discusses melancholy (pp. 145–57) and allegory as a melancholic form (pp. 174–85). 'The only pleasure the melancholic permits himself [...] is allegory' (p. 185). In Benjamin's *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. by Harry Zohn (London: NLB, 1973), this is continued into a reading of modernity, so 'Baudelaire's genius, which drew its nourishment from melancholy, was an allegorical one' (p. 170). These are Baudelaire's weapons against modernity's instrumental rationalism.

was" — that is what the stone which it cannot roll away is called. [...] This, yes this alone is *revenge* itself: the will's antipathy towards time and time's "It was". [...] *The spirit of revenge*: my friends, that, up to now, has been mankind's chief concern.'[23] The 'sullenly wrathful' will — the spirit of *Inferno* VII — is redeemed only when it ceases to fight against everything in the past and can reply to the realization that time has gone by, 'But I willed it thus.' Nietzsche brings the concept of will to an end because it comes too late, reacting to events which have overcome the self. Marco Lombardo's doctrine of free will receives a further context in Amata's suicide. Though she had free will, Lavinia says that it is controlled by passion: 'wherefore, through anger, have you willed to be nothing?' (perché per ira hai voluto esser nulla?). Anger has made her will the action, willing revenge on itself for not having the power of success to stop Aeneas, being able to control neither time nor events. The will, like the urge to anger, attempts to protect the self, and in so doing, annihilates it. Marco Lombardo stresses free will, but the will is powerless to preserve the self in its state of passion, for in anger there is a mutilation or halving of being; the contrary to this is melancholia, where there is a deprivation of the power of the will.[24] Such privative being is already seen on this cornice; Marco Lombardo is only a voice, while Procne loses her body and becomes a singing bird, and, like Haman, she is not named (XVII. 19–21). In these visions, like Cain on the cornice of envy, people are not quite there, or come and go before they have had time to form. The melancholic vision reads the melancholy of anger: sees it as fiercely protecting the self, unable to maintain autonomy.

What causes such a *deréglement de tous les sens*, undoing control? Comparison with the fire of Canto XXVI, which burns the lustful, is relevant. They hide in the flames to aid their punishment; it is their gesture of shame, if shame is definable in terms of an fantasized attack on the subject's narcissism from outside. Such an attack would produce anger directed against the other whose aggression is so damaging to the subject, but shame would be an emotion felt prior to that, so it is appropriate that the movement in *Purgatorio* should go in the direction of treating anger before souls are met who embrace shame: the sodomites who 'help the burning by their shame' (aiutan l'arsura vergognando, XXVI. 81), the other

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[23] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, 'Of Redemption', in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, trans. by R. J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 160, 161, 162.

[24] *Acedia* was 'unique among the seven deadly sins because it could result from no movement of the will at all. That is, it could arise from a volitional deficiency' (Bowers, *Crisis of Will* , p. 63). On anger and sloth, see ibid., p. 146.

lustful sinners who as a punishment call out Pasiphae's name 'in shame of our-
selves' (in opprobrio di noi, XXVI. 85). In contrast, Marco Lombardo's speech
is self-assertive; he even seems ready to take offence, thinking Dante may be
deceiving him (l. 136) — presumably reverting to his life's habits of touchiness.
While the souls of Canto XXVI want to escape representation, Marco Lombardo
gives his name straightaway, and only as an afterthought asks to be prayed for, as
if not wanting to be thought dependent on another (ll. 50–51).

Marco speaks nostalgically of Frederick the Second (l. 117),[25] whose Sicilian
court has gone since his death in 1250, exiling the Italian language, as Dante says
in his prose text *De vulgari eloquentia*, so it wanders stranger-like (*DVE*, I. 18. 3,
p. 66), described as a panther, marked by 'traces', 'scatter[ing] its fragrance
everywhere and show[ing] itself nowhere' (*DVE*, I. 16. 1, p. 64). It 'belongs to
every city, but seems to belong to none' (*DVE*, I. 16, p. 65). The smoke of anger
is also animal-like, with its 'pelo', and it smells rather than is fragrant, but like
the sun's light (*Purg.*, XVII. 53), it is described as a veil. The clarity of a language
that yields definitive, representational meaning is replaced by the idea of lan-
guage as overpowering, opaque, non-graspable, especially in the opening six lines
of Canto XVI, which present the smoke as textual excess.[26] Language, passion
itself, is so dense and overcoming that the two poets Dante and Virgil must hold
onto each other as they pass through it. It takes over the subject, creating its
inward passion.

This thickness of language is unrecognized in the Ghibelline Marco Lom-
bardo's speech, though his rhetoric is full of replication, repetition, and chiasmus:[27]

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[25] Dante praises the Sicilian court of Frederick the Second (1194–1250) in *De vulgari
eloquentia*, I. 12, saying that it established Italian poetry as illustrious, pivotal, courtly, and curial
(*De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile*, trans. by Marianne Shapiro (Lincoln: University
of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 66; hereafter *DVE*). The translation 'pivotal' matches Derrida on
language as 'la brisure' (the hinge), as neither inside nor outside (see Jacques Derrida, *Of Gram-
matology*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,
1976), p. 65).

[26] The first six lines of Canto XVI pluralize images: the smoke of hell; a night bereft of
every planet; a barren sky which is obscured by clouds — delaying the reference (the 'fummo')
until the sixth line. See Mario Trovato on Canto XVI in *Dante's 'Divine Comedy': Introductory
Readings, II: Purgatorio*, ed. by Tibor Wlassics, supplement to *Lectura Dantis*, 12 (Spring 1993),
235–47.

[27] The rhetoric is discussed by Umberto Bosco and Giovanni Reggio in their edition of the
Commedia, 3 vols (Florence: Le Monnier, 1979), II, notes to Cantos XVI, L, LI.

> Lombardo fui, e fu chiamato Marco,
> del mondo seppi, e quel valore amai
> al quale ha or ciascun disteso l'arco.
>   [...]
>   I'ti prego
> che per me prieghi quando sù sarai.
>   (ll. 46–51)

(I was a Lombard, and was called Marco; I knew the world and that valour I loved at which now everyone has bent the bow [...]. I pray you that you pray for me when you are above.)

The doubleness of rhetoric creates the single subject and the worth that he loved as something unitary. Marco comes from Lombardy, from an area watered by the eastwards-flowing Adige and the Po (including modern Pavia, Milan, Mantua, and Verona). The emphasis which these rivers give is of spontaneity, and that which by enclosing, allows the inhabitants of the region to feel at home.[28] The area is north of the westwards flowing Arno, described in Canto XIV, and north of the Romagna of Guido del Duca and Rinier da Calboli (Canto XIV): the area between the Po and the mountains, and the sea and the Reno (XIV. 91–92). Virgil's parents are said to have come from Lombardy (*Inf.*, I. 68) and Dante's last home is to be with the 'il gran Lombardo' (*Para.*, XVII. 71).[29] Marco Lombardo puts old times ('l'antica età') against the new (l. 122), looking back to the old Rome, or to Italy under Frederick. Two references to the good ('buon') Gherardo da Camino of Treviso (ll. 124, 138) invest in language as transparent, pleonastic, a matter of terms repeating each other, as though Gherardo (*c.* 1240–1306) were summed up by his goodness, and 'goodness' (as with the 'buoni' of line 120), was self-evident.[30] Marco Lombardo would like his own name to be allegorical, summing up a straightforwardly good Lombardy, just as he calls Guido da Castel 'the simple [*semplice*] Lombardo' (l. 126), where simplicity fits with his descrip-

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[28] The Adige reappears in *Para.*, IX. 44, along with the river to its north, the Tagliamento, to designate the March of Treviso, just as the Cagnano and Sile rivers also appear, as the area which encloses the territory of the corrupt son of the 'good Gherardo' of *Purg.*, XVI. 124. The area Cunizza means includes Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Feltro, and Venice.

[29] In *Epistulae*, V. 11, Dante calls the Lombards the 'Scandinavie soboles' — race of Scandinavia, referring to the Teutonic origin of the Longobardi; for the conquest of Desiderius in Pavia by Charlemagne (774), thereby bringing it into the empire, see *Para.*, VI. 94–96, *Mon.*, III. 11. 1.

[30] Compare Gherardo as 'noble' in *Convivio*, IV. 14. 12 (and to Guido da Castel, similarly, *Con.*, IV. 16. 6). These references seem taken up, with valuations relativized, in *Purgatorio*.

tion of the innocent newborn soul as 'semplicetta' (l. 88), in the line which T. S. Eliot cited in 'Animula': 'Issues from the hand of God the simple soul'. Yet Lombardy — an allegory for his own condition — is divided, war-torn, neither single nor simple. As the examples of the punishment of wrath include the effects of 'the element of foreignness, the intrusion of a stranger as a figure throwing into havoc one's familiar world',[31] so, from Pisistratus's wife's anger at the intrusive male to Amata's fear of Aeneas, the fear generating anger is of otherness. Marco Lombardo feels for Lombardy, which accounts for his passion, but his anger only causes more bitterness, when Dante calls the modern age 'selvaggio' (l. 135). The clarity that is desired is disabled by the smoke and his speech, and that seems to be true throughout the cornice.

The uses of 'valore e cortesia' not only echo *Inferno* XVI. 6, on Florence, but repeat Canto XIV, line 90, where the Romagna, south of the area spoken of now was under review. There, the 'valore' of the House of Calboli is spoken of as lost, and, also, at XIV. 110, 'amore e cortesia', the very qualities of *amor cortois*. The three old men that Marco Lombardo singles out in Lombardy, whose life rebukes 'la nuova' (l. 122) are Guelphs: Corrado da Palazzo, of Brescia, one of the towns which opposed Henry VII (*Epistolae*, VII. 22), Gherardo, of Treviso, and Guido da Castel, of Reggio Emilia, still alive in 1315, whom Marco Lombardo calls by his 'french name' as 'il semplice Lombardo', saying that he was someone that the French passing through Italy could rely on, as though 'Lombardo' was a synonym in French for 'Italian', making the man the essence of a generous Italian spirit.

In contrast to this discourse, Dante tells Marco he has acquired an added intellectual question. It is prompted by Marco's words, which imply a universal malice directed towards divine goodness (ll. 47–48). He says of his question, 'first it was single, now it is made double' (prima era scempio, e ora è fatto doppio, l. 55). Marco's response, asserting the simplicity of free will (ll. 64–90) followed by a discussion of law and the failure of law-making on account of the Church of Rome's accumulating of power (ll. 91–129) seems simple, but is anything but, and the problem he describes is inseparable from the metapoetic statement that problems have become double, for doubleness proliferates in the way Marco Lombardo thinks that speech may be taken (l. 136), and in the images he uses. Hence we hear of the *two* rivers delimiting Lombardy, the Adige and the Po, with their separate resonances of war and love, and of the shepherd that leads who chews the cud but does not have the hoofs divided (ll. 98–99); Rome's two suns

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[31] Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision*, pp. 130–31.

(l. 107), where one sun has put out another (l. 108); and the idea of the sword being joined to the crook (ll. 109–10).[32] These last two figures are catachreses. A poetic catachresis (*abusio* in Latin) describes an abuse in the Church. But a catechresis involves a confounding of two elements, so it works against everything Marco calls 'semplice'. Using catachresis images the state it describes, where distinctions have been confounded, where the hoof is not divided. But catachresis also destabilizes. If the world is blind, catachresis is an ambivalent way of making people see. The smoke is matched by the smoke of catachresis. The point can be put in two ways: catachresis represents a violence in and on language: but, if all language uses involve catachresis, since there are no 'proper' figures of speech, language becomes wrathful, passionate, affective. If smoke does not let the eyes stay open, so representation is impossible because all perception is dependent on passion -wrathful, erotic, and melancholy. The smoke is the language of passion, as the fire in Canto XXVI is the language of desire. Such language enwraps the subject, making impossible a single statement and a single identity.

This non-single state may also be compared with how gender-difference appears. The marginal status of the women (in four of the six examples in Cantos XV and XVII) in relation to the central masculine voice in Canto XVI accords with something else: the interplay between open anger and anger which is hidden. Giotto made Wrath a powerful woman, bending backwards sharply, trying to tear apart her garment at the front and to bare her breast, as though she were bursting. Oswald Sirén compares her to a classical Maenad, working herself up

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[32] The 'two suns' (a famous crux) compares with the sun and moon imagery of *Monarchia*, III. 4. 12–22, and the relative status of pope and emperor in *Monarchia*, III. 16. See U. Limentani, 'Dante's Political Thought', in *The Mind of Dante*, ed. by U. Limentani (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 113–37; Charles Davis, *Dante's Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 12–15, 35; Timothy G. Sistrunk, 'Obligations of the Emperor as the Reverent Son in Dante's *Monarchia*', *Dante Studies*, 105 (1987), 95–112. See also Piero Boitani, 'From Darkness to Light: Governance and Government in *Purgatorio* XVI', in *Dante and Governance*, ed. by John Woodhouse (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 12–26. Boitani (p. 23) discusses Innocent III's letter, *Sicut universalis conditor*, which made the light of the sun papal authority, that of the moon, imperial. *Monarchia*, III. 4, rejects this. I take the 'two suns', which contrast with the 'buio d'inferno', to be an impossible figure (defying representation), despite Ernst H. Kantorowicz's 'Dante's Two Suns', *University of California Publications in Semitic Theology*, 11 (1951), pp. 217–31. I do not think Kantorowicz proves the two suns he locates in literature as more than one literal sun given a metaphorical value, plus a ruler metaphorized as the sun. The figure of two independent suns is textual excess, implying there can be no imaginable rational resolution between the two contradictory demands of the two forms of government.

into a frenzy, like Amata, portrayed as a Maenad in *Aeneid*, Book VII.[33] Desperatio, we recall, an old woman, has hanged herself. In contrast to feminine, shameless, open forms of anger and despair in Dante there is the melancholic anger of Marco Lombardo, with whom Dante identifies ('Marco mio', l. 130). Just as he says the church of Rome has fallen in the mire and made itself foul ('e sé brutta'),[34] Marco calls Lombardy shameless:

> or può sicuramente indi passarsi
> per qualunque lasciasse, per vergogna,
> di ragionar coi buoni o d'appressarsi.
> (XVI. 118–20)

(Now anyone who for shame would avoid speaking with good people, or coming near them, may pass there safely.)

This attack on a society that has lost its power to shame anyone comes from someone hidden, who cannot be commented on in his turn. The self-protection — desiring not to be shamed — may relate to gender difference. Marco Lombardo had described the simple soul as a baby girl, weeping and laughing ('piangendo e ridendo', l. 87). But while weeping intensifies through Cantos XV to XVII, laughter does not. Marco praises three examples of good men like himself: Currado da Palazzo, the good Gherardo, and Guido da Castel. When Dante asks who Gherardo is, Marco replies that he can give him no other name or attribution except what comes from Gherardo's daughter, Gaia. But this last supplementary example in the canto may give to Gherardo a name that subverts everything both he and Marco represent, if she is truly describable as 'a truly gay and frivolous woman' (Mulier quidem vere gaia et vana).[35] That is where all the laughter seems to have gone to. The disorder she represents is inseparable from the order Marco praises, the other of, a double of, 'il buon Gherardo'. Nothing is 'semplice'; rationality and order, sexual passion, and the passion of anger all come together, and in the feminine there seems excess and doubling.

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[33] Oswald Sirén, *Giotto and Some of his Followers*, 2 vols in 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917; repr. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), p. 52.

[34] Cf. Dante to Filippo Argenti: 'Who are you that have made yourself so filthy?' (ma tu chi se', che sì se' fatto brutto? *Inf.*, VIII. 35).

[35] Singleton's edition quotes Benvenuto on Gaia saying to her brother 'Procure amorous young suitors for me and I will procure beautiful girls for you'. The brother, Rizzardo, who gives colour to the name of Gherardo, appears in *Para.*, IX. 50, spoken of in the context of the heaven of Venus, and murdered for his pride and because he seduced the wife of Alteniero degli Azzo.

Canto XVI describes an anger which comes from a desire for clarity, for single, non-affective statements (expressed typically in a belief in free will). Recognition of the impossibility of this clarity produces the wrath which may also be unconscious melancholy, prompted by the fear of being in an unpresentable space, the non-representable being bound up with the doublings of the text. Dante, though part of that state, proclaims his journey and his writing outside the modernity this implies, but the modernity makes it impossible to carry forward the argument about free will except in catachresis. He is caught in the same affective situation as is Marco Lombardo. In any distinction between the medieval and the modern, seen from the standpoint of our own modernity, with its own blindness and insight, it seems irresistible that this textual disavowal of being modern is another example of textual doubling, where the subject that speaks in the text has been waylaid by those elements in the cantos he must needs pass through and beyond. Recognition of modernity is recognition of alterity. Overcoming anger, he is overcome.

SLOTH

Acedia

The sin of the fourth, middle cornice of *Purgatorio* is usually called sloth, but, despite a reference to 'accidïa' (XVIII. 132), is not named specifically. The Greek implies lack of care, listlessness; as the indolence of the heart which became one of the seven capital vices it had a complex relationship with melancholy. This, conceptualized through Galen's argument about the humours, was not necessarily to be seen as a sin. *Purgatorio*, V. 43–60, makes journeying up the mountain only possible by day, yet the 'accidiosi' purge themselves by running round the cornice of sloth, after nightfall. After seeing them, Dante falls asleep on the mountain and dreams: conforming to the law of the mountain, since night is the time when no man can work; but falling asleep means disempowerment, the subject's loss of his own self-presence, which is another form of *acedia*, or melancholia. Dante asleep comes under the power of the Siren, the power of horror: I shall discuss this as the power of the *il y a*, which is the term used by Levinas, and by Blanchot.[1] But there is something more. When *Inferno* touched on the *accidiosi*, that suggested fascination with passional states, when the subject loses sense of control. *Purgatorio* seems simpler, concentrating more on sloth in the punishment of the souls, but is actually more complex, beyond interpretation in relation to the dream which follows, which, erotic and melancholic, evokes the subject's own disempowerment, bringing its own powers of subjectivity into question. One result from this is the desire for *apatheia*, and this is described most

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[1] I discuss the night and the *il y a* (the 'there is') — the revelation of existence beyond the 'existent' — in 'Levinas and *Macbeth*'s "Strange Images of Death"', *Essays in Criticism*, 54 (2004), 351–72.

fully in *Paradiso* XXI and XXII, which evokes, or sublimates, melancholia (lack of emotion, fear of emotion, loss of an emotional state) into contemplation, under the influence of the heaven of Saturn. This chapter, then, looks at *Purgatorio* and at a repressed melancholia in *Paradiso*.

In Origen, and in Evragrius Ponticus, *acedia* was the 'noonday demon' inducing lack of care, tedium, and boredom in the solitary. Siegfried Wenzel's *The Sin of Sloth* suggests that *acedia* changed its meaning, during the East-West shift that Cassian made, from the Egyptian desert to monasteries in Marseille. It now associated with precise monastic rules, rather than the condition of the desert reclusive. In Cassian, *acedia*, joined to sadness, or sorrow, is remedied by the communal, monastic life:

> Our sixth combat is with [...] [*acedia*] which we may term weariness or distress of heart. This is akin to dejection [*tristitia*], and is especially trying to solitaries, and a dangerous and frequent foe to dwellers in the desert; and especially disturbing to a monk about the sixth hour, like some fever which seizes him at stated times, bringing the burning heat of its attacks on the sick man at usual and regular hours. Lastly, there are some of the elders who declare that this is the 'midday demon' spoken of in the ninetieth Psalm. [...] It produces dislike of the place, disgust with the cell, and disdain and contempt of the brethren. [...] It also makes the man lazy and sluggish about all manner of work which has to be done within the enclosure of his dormitory.[2]

For Evragrius, *acedia* was the ground condition from which other evils sprang.[3] Richard Kuhn's study of *ennui* — which he relates to medieval *acedia* — gives *acedia* a place apart in Evagrius's list of vices, a sin, like the others, yet in a class by itself, with 'a strangely ambiguous position, for by surmounting it, one can find celestial bliss'.[4] Evagrius, who said on his deathbed that 'for three years I have

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[2] Cassian, *Institutes of the Coenobia*, Book X, 'Of the Spirit of Accidie', quoted in Stanley W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 67 (and see pp. 39–64 generally). See PL, XL, cols 359–66. A French translation of Cassian appears in Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. by Jean-Claude Guy (Paris: Cerf, 2001), pp. 384–85. Scholia on the Psalms attributed to Origen the reading of 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday' (Psalm 90. 6; 91. 6, Authorized Version) as *acedia*, while the Septuagint used *acedia* to translate Psalm 118. 28 (119. 28): 'My soul melteth for heaviness'; see Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 6–7 (see PG, XII, col. 1664).

[3] See Morton Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 59; Wenzel's *Sin of Sloth*, p. 5, quoting from *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus* (PG, XL, col.1273), which cites Evagrius; and Bowers, *Crisis of Will*, pp. 61–96.

[4] Richard Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 44.

not been troubled by fleshly desire — after so long a life of toil and labour and increasing prayer', claims for himself the state of apathy (*apatheia*): he had removed from himself all human passions.[5] *Acedia* becomes *both* the indifference which prevents the achievement of another, desired form of indifference which is apathy, *and* the route towards that passionless state.

Cassian simplifies *acedia*, juxtaposing it to *tristitia*, the sorrow of the world, which is immoderate, producing death, not repentance. Sins particularly dangerous to the cenobite are now: gluttony, fornication, covetousness, anger, dejection (*tristitia*), *acedia*, vainglory, and pride. As Cassian explains this order, the first two were bodily, the next two came from outside impulses; then dejection and *acedia* came from the inner movements of the self and vainglory and pride stood by themselves. Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, 150 years later did not make *acedia* one of the sins, but referred to *tristitia*. Perhaps Gregory grasped the pathological character of *acedia*, and considered it outside the realm of morals, as not, properly, a sin.[6] As pride, merged with vainglory, becomes more prominent, in Gregory, as earlier in Augustine, so a change appears: from the prominence of *in*action, absence and dejection, to *over*action, positivity and rebellion. *Acedia* loses its importance when the soul is assumed to be active, individualistic, implying pride.

Hugh of St Victor made Gregory's *tristitia* Cassian's *acedia* and productive of further sins: those which are punished in *Purgatorio* after sloth, i.e., avarice, gluttony, and lust. As Wenzel says, 'the soul who has lost her inner joy by *tristitia* or *acedia* turns to external goods from which she expects comfort (*avaritia*) and thence descends to the pleasures of the flesh (*gula* and *luxuria*)'.[7] Gregory's *tristitia* (dejection, sadness, sorrow) survives in Aquinas's characterization of the vice as 'a kind of sadness, whereby a man becomes sluggish in spiritual exercises because they weary the body'.[8] According to Wenzel, *acedia* must now include

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[5] Chadwick, *John Cassian*, p. 28; quotation from Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, pp. 6–7. For the citation see the partial translation by W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (London: SPCK, 1918), p. 137. For *apatheia*, see Chadwick, *John Cassian*, pp. 82–93.

[6] The view of Dom Robert Gillet, quoted in Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 25. See PL, LXXVI, cols 620–22. Straw, *Gregory the Great*, 1988, p. 40, suggests that Gregory's classification of vices is crossed by awareness of varying humours making up selfhood.

[7] Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 133. For Hugh of St Victor, see Wenzel, 'Acedia, 700–1200', *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 73–102 (specifically pp. 94–97).

[8] Quoted in Singleton, note to XVII. 85, from *Summa theologica* (Rome: Marietti, 1950), I. q. 63, a. 2. ad. 2. See Aquinas's definition of *acedia* as a sorrow about, or the aversion man feels towards, his spiritual good because of bodily labour: 'acedia, quae tristatur de bono spirituale,

grief in some form, since it has been equated with *tristitia*.[9] Indolence and the sense of tedium, prominent in Cassian, and sadness, prominent in Gregory, have united.

The sin in *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* has therefore a problematic valency. *Acedia* is laziness, but also sadness or grief, and melancholia, and perhaps madness. Siegfried Wenzel quotes the *Formula novitiorum* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan David von Augsburg, for whom *acedia* has three kinds:

> The first is a certain bitterness of the mind which cannot be pleased by anything cheerful or wholesome. It feeds upon disgust and loathes human intercourse. This is what the Apostle calls the sorrow of the world that worketh death. It inclines to despair, diffidence, and suspicions, and sometimes drives its victim to suicide when he is oppressed by unreasonable grief. Such sorrow arises sometimes from previous impatience, sometimes from the fact that one's desire for some object has been delayed or frustrated, and sometimes from the abundance of melancholic humours, in which case it behooves the physician rather than the priest to prescribe a remedy.
>
> The second kind is a certain indolent torpor which loves sleep and all comforts of the body, abhors hardships, flees from whatever is hard, droops in the presence of work, and takes its delight in idleness. This is laziness proper.
>
> The third kind is a weariness in such things only as belong to God, while in other occupations its victim is active and in high spirits. The person who suffers from it prays without devotion. He shuns the praise of God whenever he can do so with caution and dares to; he hastens to rush through the prayers he is obliged to say and thinks of other things so that he may not be too much bored by prayer.[10]

Wenzel calls this widening of definition the thirteenth-century 'laicizing of the concept' of *acedia*. The first type of *acedia* is *tristitia*. It includes melancholia and fears of worse states than that, and it may be caused naturally, and not be a sin. The second is idleness or negligence (sloth), the third, boredom in things relating to God — which relates back to Evagrius on *acedia*. The first may be a sin demanding confession, but as it may *not* be a sin, it also escapes codification. So Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl discuss medieval melancholy, showing that the thirteenth-century William of Auvergne admired melancholia, seeing it as creative, while they also say that melancholy, as a condition derived from 'humours' psychology, could also be identified with *acedia* and *tristitia*, and so be

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propter laborem corporalem adiunctum' (*ST*, I-II. q. 84 a. 4. 6). See Wenzel's *Sin of Sloth*, pp. 47–55, on Aquinas.

⁹ Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 52. See references in *Purgatorio* XVIII to the weeping of *tristitia*: (ll. 99, 'piangendo', 120, 'dolente', 122, 'piangerà', 123, 'tristo').

¹⁰ Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 160.

given an entirely different reading. Melancholy could be separate from *acedia*, or linked.[11] The question is how these two things — melancholia which is a sin, and melancholia which is not a sin, meet in Dante. For Boccaccio, Dante's condition was 'malinconico e pensoso'.[12] Though Dante analyses *acedia*, perhaps he does so out of melancholy.

Acedia in 'Inferno'

In *Inferno*, VII. 115–26, *accidiosi* were referred to, when angry souls were seen, fighting, covered in mud. Virgil tells Dante that below the waters of Styx, traced only by the bubbles that rise to the surface, are those who are fixed in the mud who can only gurgle a 'hymn' in their throats. They utter a sad poetry, as suggested by the equivocal rhyme and by the words' circularity:

> Tristi fummo
> ne l'aere dolce che dal sol s'allegra,
> portando dentro accidïosi fummo,
>   or ci attristiam ne la belletta negra.
>   (ll. 121–24)

(We were sad in the sweet air that is gladdened by the sun, carrying within us a lazy smoke; now we make ourselves sad in the black mud.)

In *Inferno*, VIII. 1–63, Virgil and Dante are piloted across Styx, while Filippo Argenti comes up out of the water to try to get into the boat and is assailed by all the other spirits, and turns on himself with his own teeth. Filippo Argenti gives another version of the *ira* (wrath) already seen, but the anger also implies *acedia*.

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[11] Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (London: Dent, 1964), pp. 73–75, 76, 88. Cf. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, pp. 72–77, and pp. 41–45 for Galen, for whom melancholy was an excess of black bile, and produced fear, which could take the form of delusions, and despondency. Avicenna, in contrast to Galen, saw melancholy as a potential from any one of the four humours, so that, as *Saturn and Melancholy* point out, 'from now on [Avicenna died 937] melancholy illness could have a sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic or "natural melancholic" basis' and so would become a universal liability (p. 88). See also Noel L. Brann, 'Is Acedia Melancholy? A Re-examination of this Question in the Light of Fra Battista da Crema's *Della cognitione et vittoria di se stesso*', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 34 (1979), 180–99.

[12] Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*, chap. 8, quoted in Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, p. 254.

Stirring these waters of Styx will produce dark emotions. What relation does this sadness (*tristitia*) and this *acedia* have to anger? Alfred Triolo discusses an Aristotelian classification, in the *Ethics* (IV. 5. 1126) of three degrees of excessive irascibility: the choleric, the bitter or the melancholy, and the ill-tempered. Aquinas harmonized these three degrees with a classification derived from Nemesius, Bishop of Emesa in Syria (*c.* 400) and from St John of Damascus († 749), which distinguished *ira fellea*, *mania* or *insania*, and *furor* or *rancor*.[13] Hence there are the angry, and the melancholic, who are mad, or manic, as though they were manic-depressives; and those marked by desire for revenge. Melancholy, therefore, fits with anger, but Triolo prefers to see those in the mud as marked by *tristitia*, adding:

> Aquinas defines *tristitia* as a passion of the concupiscible [as opposed to the rational and irascible souls] which is located between two irascible passions: it follows on fear, in that we become sullen when directly faced with an evil which we have dreaded, and it is normally anterior to a movement of anger.

He refers to the four types of *tristitia* Aquinas derived from Nemesius — *misericordia*, *invidia*, *acedia*, and *anxietas*. Here, melancholy and *acedia* are linked to desire. Sorrow, as concupiscible, can produce feelings of mercy, or envy (to sullenness over the good of others), or can induce *acedia*, depression, or lead to *anxietas*, 'a degree of oppression of the soul which makes escape from the object of fear seem impossible'.[14] The last form produced speechlessness, according to John of Damascus, though in Aquinas, *acedia* 'amputates' the voice.[15] The souls under the mud, with mud in their throats to prevent articulation, have both the melancholia of anger, and its madness too, and they may be 'tristi', connecting them with *tristitia*.[16]

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[13] See Alfred A. Triolo, 'Ira, Cupiditas, Libido: The Dynamics of Human Passion in the *Inferno*', *Dante Studies*, 95 (1977), 1–37 (p. 9). See Aquinas, *ST*, I. 2. q. 46. a. 8, II. 2. q. 158. a. 5. John of Damascus was translated into Latin, as *De fide orthodoxa* in 1150 by Burgundio of Pisa (*c.* 1110–93) for Pope Eugenius II (PG, XCIV, col. 782); he also translated Nemesius as *De natura hominis* (PG, XL). See Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, pp. 53–54.

[14] Triolo, 'Ira, Cupiditas, Libido', pp. 10, 11.

[15] Singleton's note to *Inf.*, VII. 117, refers to Nemesius, as quoted by Aquinas, 'Acedia est tristitia vocem amputans' — 'torpor is sorrow depriving of speech'. See *ST*, I-II. q. 35. a. 8. obj. 3 (for Nemesius, see PG, XL, col. 688A).

[16] 'L'accidia è quindi qui un aspetto dell'ira, non un peccato a sé': Dante, *Inferno*, ed. by Bosco and Reggio, p. 105. It is a passion, not a sin.

'Purgatorio' XVIII

In contrast to the anger and madness of *acedia* in *Inferno*, it seems at first that *Purgatorio* tries to sweep away the psychotic, disturbing aspects of its behaviour. The episode is announced when Dante feels his strength fading and night falling. In this suspended animation he listens to determine if he can hear anything (XVII. 80). As he cannot, he turns to Virgil, who explains that this is the middle of Purgatory. Below, on the cornices of pride, envy, and anger, was mourned the love of an evil object. Above, on terraces not yet seen, is mourned an overzeal in running towards secondary goods. Now, it is the turn of 'lento amore'. The first three and last three cornices have forms of action, but the middle cornice suggests absence. Marco Lombardo spoke of the soul running after pleasure (*Purg.*, XVI. 92), requiring a curb on desire, but Virgil goes deeper by suggesting the power of negativity when he speaks of the soul running with more zeal or less than it should towards the good (XVII. 100–01). Virgil describes the loss of desire from within, its replacement by indifference. Now, slowness must be replaced by speed.[17] The normative condition, according to Virgil, is that the soul is created 'ad amar presto' (XVIII. 19), 'e mai non posa | fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire' (XVIII. 32–33). The indifferent must move: 'if you get it, you will get it by running' (*King Lear*, IV. 6. 199–200).

Acedia succeeds anger, and precedes the sins of desire. If anger produces melancholia, that becomes the basis of avarice.[18] *Inferno*'s *accidiosi* have no self-image, but this makes them vicious to others as though attempting to assert some form of subjectivity; in *Purgatorio*, they are trying to feel something. Whereas Evagrius hoped for apathy; these, who weep, desire the passion evoked by the energy of speeding: they have come upon Virgil and Dante already, 'già' (l. 90). Shouting 'Ratto, ratto' (XVIII. 103), they come 'sickling' round the bend of the cornice, keeping to the cliff, going round, like horses:

> E quale Ismeno già vide e Asopo
> lungo di sé di notte furia e calca,
> pur che i Teban di Baco avesser uopo,

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[17] These negative qualities of sloth appeared in *Inferno*, III. 52–64, while this *cantica* begins with Cato's rebuke to 'spiriti lenti' (II. 120–22). 'Belaqua, lazy in life and now forced to wait in a state of indifference, is 'più negligente | che se pigrizia fosse sua serocchia' (IV. 110–11). Effects of slowness reappear with the survey of negligent rulers (Canto VII), an earlier episode of loss of power, and of night.

[18] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 428, suggests that the fifteenth century linked avarice to melancholia.

> cotal per quel giron suo passo falca,
>
> per quel ch'io vidi di color, venendo,
>
> cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.
>
> (XVIII. 91–96)

(And as Ismenus and Asopus of old saw along their banks a furious crowd by night if the Thebans had need of Bacchus, so, from what I could see of them, round that circle there were bending those that good will and a just love bestride.)

They seem like mad Bacchae, watched by two Theban river-gods, but they are watched by Virgil and Dante and become fast horses, ridden by good will and a just love. It seems that if feet are not used for running, another speed will take them into the grave (XVIII. 121). The souls at the front, invoking Mary and Caesar, think of those who began, who were associated with the new (the Incarnation, the Empire). Those at the rear remember people who failed to complete: the Israelites, and Aeneas's men who failed to go into Italy with him. The Red Sea and Jordan emblematize a start made and an end not completed, and a temporal gap between; the Trojans remain unknown, in a meiosis, 'sanza gloria' (XVIII. 138):

> E quei che m'era ad ogni uopo soccorso
>
> disse: 'Vogliti qua: vedine due
>
> venir dando a l'accidïa di morso.'
>
> Di retro a tutti dicean: 'Prima fue
>
> morta la gente a cui il mar s'aperse,
>
> che vedesse Iordan le rede sue.'
>
> E: 'Quella che l'affanno non sofferse
>
> fino a la fine col figlio d'Anchise,
>
> sé stessa a vita sanza gloria offerse.'
>
> (XVIII. 130–38)

(And he that was my help in every need said, 'Turn here, see two who come giving a bite to sloth.' Behind all the others they said, 'First were dead the people for whom the [Red] sea opened, before Jordan saw their heirs. And those who did not suffer the toil to the end with the son of Anchises gave themselves to a life without glory.')

These souls, as they reproach sloth, come 'dando a l'accidïa di morso' (XVIII. 132), trying to consume what they themselves allegorize, as though this were exterior to them, in allegorical form. They are trying to disappear as subjects of *acedia*.[19] That aggression recalls the souls of *Inferno* underwater, who *have* disappeared as

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[19] See Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 242, commenting on the Bacchantes' reputation for *omophagia* — tearing the flesh off live animals destined for sacrifice with their teeth.

subjects, and Filippo Argenti's masochism. Souls run as possessed and weeping, as though in a state of manic-depression, making the sin potentially emotionally complex.

On this cornice mourning corrects melancholia.[20] The Abbot of Verona says that the people of Milan still speak sorrowfully of Barbarossa, who destroyed it. They missed their chance, their time, in an example of inaction. The *accidiosi* want 'che 'l tempo non si perda | per poco amor' (XVIII. 103–04). As *athletae Dei*, their desire is real, since Purgatory, unlike Inferno, stresses time: speed makes a difference since the spirits operate within clock-time. Since by the thirteenth century, *acedia* had moved outside the monastic cell, and 'sloth' had begun to be identified with idleness,[21] it suggests that sloth to be cured by speed is becoming a modern, proto-capitalist concept. Speed means attempting to cancel out lapses in time, to evade the fading of meaning. The speaker in the circle is an abbot of a hundred years earlier, so faded he is anonymous, except that, given the task of rule over others, he has failed even to assert subjectivity enough to be knowable in the afterlife. On the run, he discusses the rule of the 'buon Barbarossa' — Frederick I (1122–90) and of Alberto della Scala and of his illegitimate son, Giuseppe, who was appointed by him to rule the monastery at Verona. Reference to the Israelites takes discipline further: their fear and sullenness — seen as concomitants of sloth — evoke open rebellion against their leader, Moses. *Acedia* if not put down, produces *ira*.[22] The *accidiosi* deny themselves fame and melancholia produces more than a hundred years of solitude. So the Abbot of San Zeno is unnamed, and the people he criticizes.

If a melancholy haunts this cornice's weeping figures, it develops when Dante becomes like a figure of sloth. Before seeing the spirits he wandered drowsily in thought ('sonnolento vana', XVIII. 87). Virgil's explanation did not centre his

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[20] Note the angels' Latin words, then paraphrased in indirect free discourse in Italian — 'ch'avran di consolar l'anime donne' (XIX. 51). Singleton translates: 'they shall have their souls mistresses of consolation' saying 'the locution is a strange one and may be explicated as follows: those who mourn here their former sloth will be blessed in heaven, for there their souls shall be "ladies" who give true consolation, that is, we may add, their *donne* will not be *serene*, will rather resemble Beatrice'. See Robert Hollander, '*Purgatorio* XIX: Dante's Siren/Harpy', in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento in Honor of Charles S. Singleton*, ed. by Aldo S. Bernardo and Anthony L. Pellegrini (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1983), p. 84. See Hollander, *Allegory in Dante's 'Comedy'*, pp. 136–91.

[21] For changes in approach to medieval time, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 47–82.

[22] See Triolo, 'Ira, Cupiditas, Libido', p. 33.

thoughts, so he wanders after seeing the spirits into a dream of the enchantress, the Siren, the episode's second part:

> novo pensiero dentro a me si mise,
>   del qual più altri nacquero e diversi;
> e tanto d'uno in altro vaneggiai,
> che li occhi per vaghezza ricopersi,
>   e 'l pensamento in sogno transmutai.
>   (ll. 141–45)

(a new thought in me arose, from which others many and diverse were born, and such that I wandered from one to the other so that I closed my eyes for wandering, and changed my thought into dream.)

The image of going along as a man in sleep, in line 87, recalls Canto XV, lines 115–23, when Dante's mind seems to be freeing itself from sleep, because he has been held by the power of visions. A new thought has risen in Dante unnamed, uninterpreted, producing other, diverse thoughts, and in that wandering state, where these thoughts have no attribution, the dream-thought emerges, across the canto break and from one part of the night to another. A temporal break is emphasized. Patrick Boyde calls the dream 'the least dream-like and the most overtly allegorical' of all in the text, seeing it as an example of the *somnium animale*, where, for Aquinas, 'things present themselves to a man's imagination while he is asleep, on which his thoughts and affections had dwelt while he was awake'.[23] Thought translates into allegory which is temporally disjoined from rational thought, producing a loss of synchrony, illustrated by people trying to catch up, replacing sloth by speed. Like all allegory, it contains signs of un-readability, or untranslatability, like a dream suddenly broken by the day, as happens here. As a dream/allegory, it continues a form of wandering where the subject loses a grasp on meaning.

Fascination

The dream comes when the day's heat, overcome by the earth, and by the coldness of Saturn, the melancholic and slow planet, no longer warm the moon's cold-ness.[24] Coldness and torpor relate: 'intepidar' (XIX. 2) compares with 'tepidezza'

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[23] Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, pp. 127, 130; citing Aquinas, *ST*, II-II. 95. a. 6.

[24] For Saturn's slowness compare *Convivio*, II.13, 28. Wenzel, *Sin of Sloth*, p. 17, quotes Servius on the evil gift of torpor coming from Saturn.

(XVIII. 108), the indolents' luke-warmness. The day cooling, Saturn, and the cold moon repeat the downward movement of thoughts into dream, making the dreamer cold, alienated, melancholic, powerless. The dreamer's looking, however, reverses this, creating a vision, like the sun warming 'le fredde membra che la notte aggrava' (XIX. 10), giving a face to a thought. The cold vision sees the woman in one way, as an allegorical ugliness, duplicating the physical ugliness of the Abbot (Giuseppe della Scala), spoken of by Gerard, the unnamed abbot, as 'mal del corpo intero' (XVIII. 124), his body an allegory of his mind. Referring to the distorted body evokes a visual dream-allegory, and the woman's stammering echoes the amputated speech of *tristitia*; but the allegory changes under the fixed gaze of Dante. In Canto XVIII, lines 49–75, Virgil had said that free will controls what the soul loves, but on the cornice of sloth, despite 'buon volere', the melancholic is under the power of fascination. Only with difficulty, Dante says, could he have turned from the Siren:

> 'Io son,' cantava, 'io son dolce serena,
> che'marinari in mezzo mar dismago;
> tanto son di piacere a sentir piena!
>   Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago
> al canto mio; e qual meco s'ausa,
> rado sen parte; sì tutto l'appago!'
>   (XIX. 19–24)

('I am', she sang, 'I am the sweet siren who leads astray sailors in the midst of the sea; so full of pleasure am I to hear. I turned Ulysses aside from his errant journey to my song [or, I turned aside Ulysses, eager to journey on], and whoever stays with me rarely parts, so wholly do I satisfy him!')

One source for Dante's Siren is Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, where the values of the old philosophy (Plato and Aristotle), and the pleasure to be gained from the love of knowledge are allegorized:

For my part I believe Homer had something of this sort in view in his imaginary account of the songs of the Sirens. Apparently it was not the sweetness of their voices or the novelty and diversity of their songs but their professions of knowledge that used to attract the passing voyagers; it was the passion for learning that kept men rooted to the Sirens' rocky shores. This is their invitation to Ulysess (for I have translated this among other passages of Homer):

> Ulysess, pride of Argos, turn thy bark
> And listen to our music. Never yet
> Did voyager sail these waters blue, but stayed
> His course, enchanted by our voices sweet,

And having filled his soul with harmony,
Went on his homeward way a wiser man.
We know the direful strife and clash of war
That Greece, by Heaven's mandate bore to Troy,
And whatso'er on the wide earth befalls.

Homer was aware that his story would not sound plausible if the magic that held his hero immeshed was merely an idle song! It is knowledge the Sirens offer, and it was no marvel if a lover of wisdom held this dearer than his home.[25]

But this dream is more aware than Cicero of the sexual. Ulysses in *Inferno* XXVI represents a masculine principle not turned back save by the whirlpool which drowns him. His narrative shows him leaving aside sexual and familial constraints — Circe, his son, his father, Penelope. Since he refers to the 'tanto picciola vigilia | d'i nostri sensi' (ll. 114–15), he is no figure of sloth. Yet the dream-woman declares her ability to turn the male would-be colonizer from *his* errancy to *hers*. A feminine principle beguiles sailors in the midst of the sea. 'Dismago' — what she does to sailors — evokes witchcraft; feminine sexuality dismays the sailor; masculine rationality receives its sexual consummation and becomes melancholic sadness through the Siren, who sings that only she could stop the 'varco folle' of Ulysses, which will go on till he drowns. Male madness — perhaps melancholic — would be driven out — even saved? — by female transgression.

The Siren's words recall Virgil's description of the cornice of sloth:

Ed elli a me: 'L'amor del bene, scemo
del suo dover, quiritta si ristora;
qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo.'
(XVII. 85–87)[26]

(And he to me: 'The love of the good, abated from its duty, is right here restored: here the badly slackened oar is plied again.')

Perhaps the souls anticipate the Siren, for she brings about the 'mal retardo remo'. Perhaps several forms of impotency appear in *acedia*; perhaps melancholia, as induced by the Siren may be gendered as male. Only males were seen before on the cornice, even if Mary is recalled running to the hill-country (XVIII. 100). But while

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[25] Cicero, *De finibus*, V. 18, trans. by Rackham, pp. 449–51.

[26] See Zygmunt G. Barański, 'Dante's Three Reflective Dreams', *Quaderni d'italianistica*, 10 (1989), 213–36 (p. 230). Barański shows the relevance of *Aen.*, V. 604–778 (see *Purg.*, XVIII. 136–38): the acedia, weariness with ocean-toil (*Aen.*, V. 617) is inspired by the women under the influence of Iris disguised, prompted by Juno, 'daughter of Saturn' (V. 606).

Ulysses can be thought of in terms of whether he was transgressing or not, at any moment when he might have met the Siren, the Siren belongs to no economy of right or wrong; she seems outside any narrative.[27]

Dante's sleep and dream evoke a comparison, with Maurice Blanchot on fascination and *désoeuvrement*, worklessness, and reflecting on writing as producing not meaning but loss, errancy, 'dispersal':

> To write is to enter into the affirmation of the solitude in which fascination threatens. [...] [W]hat happens to me happens to no-one, is anonymous insofar as it concerns me, repeats itself in an infinite dispersal. To write is to let fascination rule language. It is to stay in touch, through language, in language, with the absolute milieu where the thing becomes image again, where the image, instead of alluding to some particular feature, becomes an allusion to the featureless, and instead of a form drawn upon absence, becomes the formless presence of this absence.[28]

As Dante dreams, or writes, fascination takes over, and the figure who appears and metamorphoses, is not determinate, not imaging anything with pre-existent reality. For Blanchot in 'The Song of the Sirens: Encountering the Imaginary', the Sirens are not the figure *of* anything. For the Siren to sing that she is the sweet siren that enchants makes her the figure of fascination; no more, not the image of a determinate temptation. Singing, her words show the dangers and the seductiveness of being fascinated. What seduces Dante's Ulysses and the sailors is fascination, producing the writer's loss of subjectivity, 'dispersal'. Blanchot calls the language of literature 'a search for this moment which precedes literature'. It is the search for 'what speech excludes in speaking'.[29] The fascination is in what must be excluded for any determinate writing, or determinate progression, such as that of Ulysses, to happen. Did the Siren detain Ulysses? If so, she would have made him a figure of sloth. His own 'folle volo' (*Inf.*, XXVI. 125), depended upon a prior exclusion of *another* madness, which nonetheless lies close to the origin, since he has had to exclude it to do anything. It now haunts Dante, in a close doubling relationship (contrast and similarity), to Ulysses. Fascination with the Siren is absorption with what must be excluded from the poem's systematicity, which it threatens to undo, bringing about worklessness.

[27] See Julia Schiesari, *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[28] Maurice Blanchot, 'The Essential Solitude', in his *The Space of Literature*, trans. by Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), pp. 19–34 (p. 33).

[29] Maurice Blanchot, *The Work of Fire*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 327.

This makes the following dream-action grow in significance. As the Siren sings, a 'donna' (not a 'femmina') appears, 'santa e presta' (XIX. 26), calling to Virgil as the male guardian of the fascinated man. This replays the opening of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, where Boethius in prison begins with a poetic plaint on the changes that Fortune has wrought. The movement to prose comes when the Lady Philosophy stands before him. Elaine Scarry describes her, and the *Consolation*'s function: '*Philosophy* originally consoles Boethius (book 1) so that he will be receptive to *philosophy*, by means of which he may eventually attain *philosophy* and so be *consoled* (book 5).'[30] Seeing the poetical Muses standing about the speaker's bed, she challenges them as 'tragical harlots', and, as 'Sirens', makes them go (I. 1, 29, 39 prose).[31] Freud evokes Boethius when calling the complaints of melancholics 'plaints in the old sense of the word', saying melancholics are 'not ashamed and do not hide themselves'. Poetry assists plaint; poetry and melancholia associate. Philosophy as directed, non-melancholic thought must drive out the sense of worthlessness felt by the man in prison ('in mourning, it is the world which has become poor and empty, in melancholia it is the ego itself').[32]

The dream-Virgil is quiescent until called by the 'donna'. Summoned to help, he rips open the Siren's garments. Patrick Boyde explains why Virgil is rebuked and is so backward: '[I]t signifies the culpable inertia of reason before it is roused by grace.'[33] Virgil is apathetic, as though marked by *acedia*. Dante only breaks free when the Siren's garments are ripped, exposing her and the 'puzza' rising from the 'ventre' (womb, or pudenda). The bodily stench, by a downward displacement and synaesthesia, means that when her lips sing together, all is foul and disgusting. The man only breaks free when the Siren's garments are ripped, exposing her and the 'puzza' — the stench — that rises from the 'ventre'. It is productive of the analogous revulsion about women that fascinates King Lear (IV. 6. 23–28). The incident suggests the passion which disrupts the depressed state of *acedia* and tips it into an abject state: the Desert Fathers, too, showed how they could lose their state of passionless apathy, as with the example of Pachon, a follower of Evagrius:

> After the devil had held back for a few days, he attacked me more fiercely than before, to the extent that I almost blasphemed. After he had transformed himself into an Ethiopian young lady, whom in my youth I had seen glean, she seemed to be seated on my knees.

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[30] Elaine Scarry, *Resisting Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 144.

[31] Boethius, *The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London: Heinemann, 1918), p. 133.

[32] Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', pp. 248, 246.

[33] Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, p. 129.

This disturbed me so much that I thought I had intercourse with her. Infuriated, I gave her a box on the ear. Believe what I am now going to say: for two years I could not stand the stench of my hand.[34]

Repudiation of the Siren distinguishes her from the 'santa donna' of the dream, who is related to Philosophy in Dante's *Convivio*, and/or to Beatrice who comes to Virgil in *Inferno*, II. 52–117. Her help demands the exclusion of the Siren with her embodied, female singing voice.[35] The dream that threatens melancholia can only be escaped from by a rejection of the woman as nauseous. Sound — the Siren's singing — is external *and* internal, invading the subject's borders. What is thrown off is also part of the self, whose rejection of the other in a loss of fascination produces its own diminishment.

Dante, pensive, is only ambiguously consoled as they leave the cornice. Virgil makes short work of the erotic:

> 'Vedesti,' disse, 'quell' antica strega
> che sola sovr' a noi omai si piagne;
> vedesti come l'uom da lei si slega.
>   Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne;
> li occhi rivolgi al logoro che gira
> lo rege etterno con le rote magne.'
>
> (XIX. 58–63)

('You saw', he said, 'that ancient witch who alone is now wept for above us; you saw how a man may free himself from her. Enough, and strike your heels on the ground; turn your eyes to the lure that the eternal king turns with the mighty wheels.')

Virgil makes the dream allegorical vision, teaching him what the people in the circles yet remaining mourn for. Indeed, the Siren is identified as avarice in Dante's *Epistolae*, V. 4. Interpretation, producing closure, contrasts with fascination, which cannot explain its relation to the image and finds inertia overcome

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[34] Quoted in Dino S. Cervigni, *Dante's Poetry of Dreams* (Florence: Olschki, 1986), p. 148 (see PL, LXXIII, col. 732). Partially quoted by Clarke, *Lausiac History*, p. 102. See Cervigni, pp. 148–49, for the 'stench of lust'. See Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 87, for part of his argument about the development of the ascetic life towards the deliberate 'melancholy' of Augustine writing that 'surely all life on earth is a temptation' (p. 98) in contrast to the earlier optimism of Origen and the Pelagians. For Brown, anger was more tempting to anchorites than sexuality (p. 88).

[35] See Nancy A. Jones, 'Music and the Maternal Voice in *Purgatorio* XIX', in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. by Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 35–49.

its ability to name. Virgil replaces the absence behind the image of the Siren, her existence as 'the formless presence of this absence' — the absence of determinate referentiality — by making the Siren refer to something. For Boyde, Virgil is peremptory in explaining this dream as a vision of the character of the sins to be punished above. He does not explain his part in the dream, nor bring out the lesson which, for Boyde, is 'not mentioned before in his preceding account of human perception and desire — that it is the *imagination* which confers a false glamour on the goods of this world (which are faithfully represented by the external senses, as the details of the vision make quite clear)'. Boyde's comments could continue. Did the vision rise out of Dante's thoughts, in a potentially annihilating moment for the journey, suggesting the price that must be paid to be able to complete the narrative at all: self-hatred and rejection of the feminine? Or must the enchantress be taken literally, as Virgil implies, as a warning: not an instance of the power of imagination? Does Virgil know that a version of him was in the dream, and how would he look upon his role of ripping open the Siren's clothes? Do his words allow for the recollection of that violence, or did they avoid addressing it?

His consolation disavows the power of the 'strega' as though aligning the dream and imagination and melancholia with the unacceptable feminine, or needing to find some cause for melancholia by attributing it to a woman and to enchantment.[36] He makes the fascinated vision yield to a single allegorical interpretation. Yet when he rips open the garments, the dream ends. His action leads to prophetic interpretation — but in ending the dream, it ends this allegory of fascination, and the state of melancholy. The dreamer's emotional disturbance goes beyond the dream, and he may, in the future, be seduced by the Sirens again, as Beatrice indicates (*Purg.*, XXXI. 45), since the Siren is part of his thoughts, his melancholy, his self-dispersal. If he can be tempted or fascinated again, this qualifies the sense that the *Commedia* records a fundamental change in its protagonist. If the dream is allegorical, allegory, like writing for Blanchot, becomes like *acedia*, destabilizing, incapable of being fixed in meaning. The dreamer's imagination changes the woman's ugliness; those allegorical features of

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[36] Perhaps Beatrice is the waking fulfilment of the 'donna' of the dream, saying she has tried to recall Dante to herself through dreams (*Purg.*, XXX. 145). She wants him stronger when he next hears the Sirens (*Purg.*, XXXI. 43–45). I take them as erotic, for she warns him about 'le cose fallaci' — deceitful things — and of the 'pargoletta o altra novità con sì breve uso' (XXXI. 55, 59–60). The erotic is also poetic, for the other reference to the Sirens is *Paradiso*, XII. 7–8: 'heavenly singing overcomes 'nostre muse | nostre serene'.

ugliness mean nothing inherently. Imagination reverses the signs which reverse themselves.

Following David von Augsburg's definitions, the descriptions of affective states considered as *acedia* also allow for a form of it, which cannot be brought into confessional form. Dante's text reads *acedia* within the scheme of thought suggested by the seven deadly sins, but cannot stop there. Another melancholy at work reads the episode of *acedia* differently and has no power over the Siren, save by a violent and abject reaction. The implications of the siren threaten the text's overall allegorical structure. Angus Fletcher quotes C. S. Lewis that 'allegory's natural theme is temptation'[37] and discusses the temptations of St Anthony. The ascetic's imagination must overcome passions, but must picture them to triumph over them: 'The monsters associated with the Temptation of St. Anthony are beasts of the kind that only an ascetic "apathy" could destroy, yet [...] his temptation necessitates the creation of those very monsters.' Temptation and fascination run together. The monstrous appears in Dante's dream, allegorized as the embodiment of temptation, but changing, it becomes the figure of the Siren, and the subject cannot cope with that. Virgil tells Dante to walk vigorously — striking his heels — becoming urgent like the slothful. The dream was too dangerous. Allegorical and melancholic imaginings will stop this mariner in the heart of the sea.

Saturn

Melancholia reappears, in *Paradiso*, in the heaven of Saturn, sublimated into forms of contemplation , the opposite of running. The Siren's song is replaced by silence, and by the golden ladder with points of light appearing on it, of whom Benedict says 'questi altri fuochi tutti contemplanti uomini fuor' (*Para.*, XXII. 46). Canto XXI shows Peter Damian, born in Ravenna perhaps in 1007, an abbot in the Benedictine monastery at Fonte Avellana, and later a cardinal.[38] He died in Faenza in 1072, making him a hundred years earlier than the Abbot of San Zeno. Canto XXII shows Benedict (?480–?543), who established monastic rule at Monte

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[37] Fletcher, *Allegory*, p. 36.

[38] For Dante in Ravenna, see Jeffrey T. Schnapp, *The Transfiguration of History at the Center of Dante's Paradise* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 170–76, discussing Dante's putative use of the mosaics in Sant' Apollinare in Classe. Giorgio Petrocchi dates the removal to Ravenna from Verona in 1317 (*Vita di Dante* (Rome: Laterza, 1986), pp. 190–92).

Cassino. The sphere of Saturn is appropriate for *acedia*: Wenzel quotes from Servius's commentary on *Aeneid*, VI. 714, that torpor comes from Saturn, and though he gives authorities linking *acedia* to the moon, he also cites Grosseteste attributing it to Saturn.[39]

Saturn, not named, is alluded to in Canto XXI, lines 24–26, as an hierarchical figure of control, the 'caro duce | sotto cui giacque ogne malizia morta', which recalls the earlier reference to him in *Inferno*, XIV. 96, 'sotto il cui rege fu gia il mondo casto'. The 'veglio' weeping in *Inferno*, Canto XIV, relates uncertainly to Saturn, both him and not him, positive and negative, just as Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl draw attention to the ambivalence of Kronos/Saturn in ancient literature, the benevolent god of agriculture and 'the gloomy, dethroned and solitary god'.[40] Whereas *Inferno*'s reference implies an origin (the Golden Age had nothing before it; it was the chaste world), that is not the case here. Purity results from prior imposition: all malice lies dead at Saturn's feet in an image of unification and wished-for control (no weeping here, no mourning). Benedict is also Saturnine:

> Quel monte a cui Cassino è ne la costa
> fu frequentato già in su la cima
> da la gente ingannata e mal disposta;
>   e quel son io che sù vi portai prima
> Io nome di colui [...]
>   [...]
> [...] io ritrassi le ville circunstanti
> da l'empio cólto che 'l mondo sedusse.
>   (XXII. 37–41, 44–45)

(That mountain, on whose slope Cassino lies, was frequented before on its summit by the deceived and ill-disposed folk, and I am he who first carried up there his name [...]. I drew away the surrounding towns from the impious cult that seduced the world.)

In this account, drawn from Gregory's *Dialogues*, of the demolition of the temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino, Benedict stresses a narrative full of beginnings, as in 'prima' (l. 40); in the references to the founding fathers, Macario and Romoaldo;

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[39] Links exist between the heaven of the moon and Saturn, the first and last spheres: both are cold, characterized by those who have withdrawn from the world: nuns or monks. Piccarda records how she was taken out of the nunnery, and adds: 'Iddio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi' *(Para.,* III. 108); Peter Damian is silent on his last fifteen years (XXI. 124–26).

[40] Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, p. 134.

and to Jacob, the patriarch first seeing the ladder (l. 70); and in his moralizing on beginnings ('buon cominciamento' (l. 86), 'comincio' (l. 88), 'l principio di ciascuno' (l. 91)). But he must recognize a pre-existent cult before he arrived on Monte Cassino ('gia', I. 38), and surviving like a palimpsest beneath Christianity. Though minimizing the repressiveness involved in superimposing the truth, it cannot, because of this palimpsest, maintain the fiction of a beginning, allowing for self-definition and for total separation of identity from everything that is other and recognized as the object. The legend instead tells that Apollo forever after pursued Benedict in the form of a black monster with flaming eyes.[41] It dramatizes melancholy as resultant from repression.

Apollo's dislodgement is repeated in *Paradiso*, which began with him as father (I. 13–36), in an invocation rich in Greek references: to Parnassus, Marsyas, Delphi, Peneus, and Cirrha. Apollo's importance is poetry. In the heaven of the sun, properly his sphere, though in the *Commedia* it is not named for him, he disappears: 'Lí si cantò non Bacco, non Peana' (There they sang, not Bacchus, not Paean, XIII. 25).

Bacchus and Apollo divided between them the two peaks of Parnassus, Nysa, and Cirrha;[42] the *terzina* excludes both: there is no *Birth of Tragedy* here, nor, in Canto XXI, any 'spirit of music' from which it can be born. Yet both *Purgatorio* XVIII and the heaven of Saturn use Dionysiac myths. Silence in Saturn, a contrast to the thunder which is a motif of these cantos, succeeds the joy of Giove in Canto XX, and is declared a necessity, just as Beatrice does not smile (XXI. 61–63). Smiling as a response to looking would destroy Dante like Semele when Jupiter appeared to her. Avoidance of brightness ('fulgore', XXI. 10) commits the text to a poetic mode, the antithesis of the pagan world of Semele who is consumed but who gives birth to Dionysus ('semen Semeles', Dante, *Epistolae*, III. 7) in that overpowering moment. Kevin Brownlee takes Beatrice's opening words as a clue to the episode, referring to Dante being 'elaborately and systematically presented as a corrected, Christian Semele'.[43] But being correct comes at a price. Silence and

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[41] Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, p. 48.

[42] B. G. Koonce, *Chaucer and the Tradition of Fame* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 178–79, on Parnassus's twin peaks representing *scientia* and *sapientia*, Apollo as god of the second.

[43] Kevin Brownlee, 'Ovid's Semele and Dante's Metamorphosis: *Paradiso 21–22*', *Modern Language Notes*, 101 (1986), 147–56 (p. 147) (repr. in *The Poetry of Allusion: Virgil and Ovid in Dante's 'Commedia'*, ed. by Rachel Jacoff and Jeffrey T. Schapp (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 224–32). Looking, in this canto, suggests contemplation and self-contemplation;

no smile are losses, not expressed as privations, as though the poem were trying to accentuate melancholy as positive. So too with the restraint on Beatrice's beauty:

> la bellezza mia […]
> se non si temperasse, tanto splende,
> che 'l tuo mortal podere, al suo folgore,
> sarebbe fronda che trono scoscende.
> (21. 7, 11–12)

(My beauty, if I did not temper it, would shine so that your mortal power, in its brightness, would be a branch that the thunder shatters.)

Destruction of Semele recalls the Theban revellers following after Bacchus *(Purg.*, XVIII. 91–93). Melancholy and *acedia* try to keep a self-possession opposite to Semele and the Dionysiac. Endurance bypasses the seasons: there is no carnival, every day sees Lenten fare; heat or cold makes no difference. If Dionysus and Apollo exist repressed in *Paradiso* XXI and XXII, they suggest an attenuation of the power of poetry. Walter Benjamin connects medieval allegory with Christianity with its belief in a 'guilt-laden physis' driving out any place for pagan gods characterized by a pure and embodied nature, now disavowed figures of the diabolical.[44] If Christianity begins with an originary refusal, its poetry is bound to be haunted by loss and silence. Coldness in these cantos excludes the warmth existing on either side of this sphere, though warmth is acknowledged in the words 'Solvi il tuo caldo disio' (XXI. 51). Peter Damian's second speech denies Dante a knowledge he desires:

> Sí mi prescrisser le parole sue
> ch'io lasciai la quistione, e mi ritrassi
> a dimandarla umilmente chi fue.
> (XXI. 103–05)

(His words so restrained me that I left the question, and drew myself back to ask humbly who he was.)

see Dante, *Rime*, LX. 17–20 (in Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, I, 104), lines whose allegorical sense, delighting in the possession of truth, is explained by *Convivio*, III. 15. 2, III. 8. 6–13. IV. 2. 17–18, *Rime*, LXIX. 18–20. The sun is a mirror at *Purgatorio*, IV. 62 (receiving light from above). In *Paradiso* XXI, mirrors are suggested by 'cristallo' (l. 25) and the wordplay on 'vedea', 'veder', and 'vede' (ll. 49–50) and allusions to contemplation (l. 92) and to self-contemplation, as in the movement Peter Damian makes, as if to catch sight of himself, in lines 79–81.

[44] Benjamin, *Origin of German Tragic Drama*, p. 226.

Humility is inseparable from accepting limits. In the next canto, the sight of other spheres of light means:

> Io stava come quei che 'n sé repreme
> la punta del disio, e non s'attenta
> di domandar, sì del troppo si teme.
> (XXII. 25–27)

(I stood as one who restrains in himself the prick of desire, and does not attempt to demand, he so fears to exceed.)

Fear of going too far, expressed sexually, phallically ('la punta del disio'), comes after the sound of the thunder has assailed him (XXI. 142), which makes Beatrice repeat the point of the importance of repressing both the singing and her smile (XXII. 10–12). The cry represents the soul's desire, ripping through their contemplation; Beatrice's words to Dante re-contain it in terms of vengeance which must be waited for patiently, for the divine sword, she says, does not strike in haste or slowly, 'ma' ch'al parer di colui | che disïando o temendo l'aspetta' (except as it appears to him who waits for it in desire or fear, XXII. 17–18). Passions are dismissed, dispensed with by calm contemplation; yet Beatrice's words cannot set aside the desire expressed in the thunder, like the desire of Semele for Jove, a desire which kills.

Thunder and the thunderbolt are evoked when Peter Damian describes Fonte Avellana: rocks rise so high 'che' troni assai suonan piu bassi' (XXI. 108). Thunder sounds below (just as this heaven is above the sphere of Giove), so investment is made in the non-emotional, the non-disturbing: if Dante is disturbed by what the thunder said, Peter Damian's whole life has avoiding thunder altogether, not going beyond the pleasure principle. Here is repression of experience and desire, and the repression of melancholy.

Avoidance of tragedy is avoidance of Dionysus — 'Bromius', the noisy one, in Dante's *Eclogues*, IV. 53, and associated with thunder — yet the disturbing and propulsive force of what is repressed cannot be denied; the episode in *Paradiso* finishes with the company being swept up ('come turbo', XXII. 99); a whirlwind experience taking the self quite out of itself. Perhaps the thunderbolt evokes the 'canzone montanina', written in the Casentino, linked, through reference to the hermitage at Camaldoli in the Casentino (*Purg.*, V. 95–96), to the contemplatives of the heaven of Saturn. Camaldoli was the hermitage founded by the Romoaldo of *Paradiso*, XXII. 49. Like Fonte Avellana, its isolation fits the idea of self-imposed exile from the city (Ravenna). The 'canzone montanina' describes the encounter with a woman, catastrophic, like a thunderbolt:

> E mostra poi la faccia scolorita
> qual fu quel trono che mi giunse a dosso;
> che se con dolce riso è stato mosso
> lunga fiata poi rimane oscura,
> perché lo spirto non si rassicura.[45]

(And then my face, drained of colour, shows what the thunder was that struck me, for though it moved me with a sweet smile, for a long time afterwards it remained dark, because my spirit does not regain courage.)

Smile and thunderbolt unite in both texts: thunder belongs in the realm of love and passion.[46] Lightning overthrows; Beatrice speaks of Dante being 'trasmutato' (XXII. 10) through the smile, the singing, and the thunder, those things whose emotional force assails and disturbs. In the 'montanina', the lines quoted above also suggest 'love disintegration'.[47] The desire to get above the thunder is for stability of selfhood which is threatened by descent into the world. The cantos opt for self-imposed exile from the city; the choice being between the separated eremitical existence (Macarius), or the integrated monastic community (Benedict). The Western tradition of monastic rule replaced the Eastern one, as though that hermit existence needed to be re-contained by rule. *Paradiso* chooses rule-bound existence, or a compromise between the two modes of existence: the reformed monastic order, which Damian and Romoaldo supported, contained the eremitical within it.[48]

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[45] *Rime*, LXXXIX. 56–60 (Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, I, 208).

[46] Links with the *Rime* could continue by associating the canzone with the *rime petrose,* a group of poems which opens with the dominance of the cold and of Saturn ('quel pianeta che conforta il gelo', *Rime*, LXXVII. 7). Again, the withholding of Beatrice's smile recalls a topos of the *petrose,* which are poems meditating on different forms of melancholy. Robert Durling and Ronald L. Martinez discuss the Saturnine aspects of 'Io son venuto' and also see Dante as a Saturnine figure in *Time and the Crystal: Studies in Dante's 'Rime Petrose'* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 80–91, 356–57.

[47] Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, II, 235, 231. On the canzone, for the view that the woman is Beatrice, which may be more important than his dating the poem to 1311, see Colin Hardie, 'Dante's "Canzone Montanina"', *Modern Language Review,* 73 (1978), 297–307. Foster and Boyde distinguish this canzone from the *petrose* by seeing a new psychologism, different from the earlier texts, the love that-assails the persona of the canzone being carnal, 'sub-rational', not 'super-rational' as in the 'ecstasy' passages of the *Paradiso* (as in XXXIII. 55–60); compare line 19 of no. 89, 'anima folle' (II, 331, 335–36).

[48] On Peter Damian, see Patricia McNulty, *Selected Writings on the Spiritual Life by St Peter Damian* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959). On the eleventh-century context, see C. H. Lawrence,

Melancholy in Freud shows the non-unified nature of the subject, which is also liable to be overthrown by it. 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917) comes from earlier work on narcissism, as Freud hints at the beginning, but goes back in Freud to his first writings: Kristeva quotes Freud in 1895, 'not[ing] in connection with melancholy, "wound", "internal haemorrhage", "a hole in the psyche"'.[49] Melancholy proceeds from a gap, a *beance* in the subject, a sense of it not holding together, with an absence in self-identity. It shows 'a profoundly painful dejection, cessation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment' (*SE*, XIV, 246). The similarity to mourning is conceptualized by Freud as the melancholic having lost a loved object, but it is 'an object-loss which is withdrawn from consciousness, in contradistinction to mourning, in which there is nothing about the loss which is unconscious' (*SE*, XIV, 245). So, to repeat, 'in mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholy it is the ego itself' (*SE*, XIV, 246). Lacan supplements Freud in referring to 'the lost object', which can never be found again, but which as *das Ding*, the thing, connects with the mother as lost, and imaged in substitute objects which fail to protect the subject's narcissistic sense of self. Loss here makes melancholia always possible.[50]

Silence protects the ego: speaking, for the historical Peter Damian, had the debilitating force of an orgasm: 'We hold our tongues in check because if they are undisciplined they empty the soul of the strength of heavenly grace, and weaken its healthful vigour.'[51] Dissemination is feared: the hermits were encouraged to sit

Medieval Monasticism (London: Longman, 1984), Chapter 8, and Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (London: Macmillan, 1984). For Romoald, see Colin Phipps, 'Saint Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1988), and John Howe, 'The Awesome Hermit: The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possible Research Perspective', *Numen,* 30 (1983), 106–19. Knowledge of Romoaldo comes largely from Peter Damian's *Life*; when Romoaldo appears in Benedict's text in Dante he is not separable from Peter Damian, just as Damian's own autobiography in Canto XXI reveals traces of Dante's own self-fashioning, as the exile, separate from the world, in the atmosphere of Ravenna. On Benedictinism, see John Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150', *Speculum,* 61 (1986), 269–304.

[49] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 55.

[50] Lacan, *Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 57, 70.

[51] McNulty, *Selected Writings*, p. 44.

in their cell to encourage stability, and the cell had a huge investment as the soul's dwelling-place and symbol of the contemplative heart.[52] According to the *Vita* of Peter Damian, written by his disciple John of Lodi, monks lived in twos in cells 'unremitting in spiritual combat both by night and by day, armed with the indefeasible weapons of psalmody, prayer, reading, abstinence and obedience'.[53] The stress on obedience, one reason for Benedict bringing hermit existence under the rule of the monastery (policing it, discouraging its separate existence), belongs to an anxious guarding of both the self and of the discourse that the self inhabits: 'If you bear the cross of Christ, above all you must not abandon the obedience of Christ', so Peter Damian quotes Romuald.[54]

Thinking, in this heaven, seems protected. Peter Damian wrote rule books on the eremitical life and on penitence and austerity, and on self-flagellation (*De laude flagellorum*) and an attack on the vices of secular clergy and monks in his *Liber Gomorrhianus*, the *Book of Gomorrah*, which was addressed to Pope Leo IX (1049–54), censoring homosexual sins, and asking Leo what should happen to those clerics guilty of such vices, whether they should be deposed from their orders. Leo's response seems to have been intended to qualify this zeal.[55] The historian Lester K. Little, commenting on how much Peter Damian wrote, noting the uniqueness of this last book, says 'he appears to have filled some needs of his own by spelling out the acts he found so repugnant'. Little names sins which Peter Damian confessed to: for example, anger, sexual temptation, and what he claimed was the worst — scurrility, coarse and ludicrous talk.[56] Such comedy

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[52] Phipps, 'Saint Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*', p. 284.

[53] McNulty, *Selected Writings*, p. 17.

[54] Phipps, 'Saint Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*', p. 189.

[55] See Peter Damian, *Book of Gomorrah: An Eleventh-Century Treatise against Clerical Homosexual Practices*, trans. by Pierre J. Payer (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982). Perrier's introduction brings out how penitentials from the sixth century onwards condemn homosexuality, while he says (p. 7) there are only three references to it in the ecclesiastical Councils: those of Toledo (693), Paris (829), and Trosly (909), apart from early references in the Councils of Elvira (*c.* 306) and Ancyra (*c.* 314), which became the standard source for medieval ecclesiastical legislation against homosexuality. Leo IX enforced priestly celibacy at the Easter synod, 1049.

[56] Lester K. Little, 'The Personal Development of Peter Damian', in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Joseph E. Strayer*, ed. by William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab, and Teofilo F. Ruiz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 317–42 (pp. 333–36). For Peter Damian on sodomy, see Conrad Leyser, 'Cities of the Plain: The Rhetoric of Sodomy in Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah*', *Romanic Review*, 86 (1995), 191–211, which makes critical

might be part of the carnival-spirit, which is also presided over by Saturn. Hermit existence, then, is not thinking marked out by speculation, but characterized by the investment in rule. If contemplation is productive of thinking, nowhere in these cantos is there any suggestion of thought; the people chosen to represent the sphere of Saturn are marked out by their initiating of rules controlling thought.[57] This protection of the self through rule-based thought and obedience accounts for the refusal of Beatrice to smile. The melancholy of Dante knows there can be no smiling where that would imply both the outburst of the erotic and, because of Semele, the power of punishment. In melancholia, 'the excessively strong super-ego which has obtained a hold upon consciousness rages against the ego with merciless violence'.[58] Melancholia becomes, in 'The Ego and the Id', acceptance of guilt.

Where melancholy recognizes the loss of the subject, repression centres it. Saturn, as the ruler under whom all malice lay dead, images the subject's severance from that which is declared other to it. A hostile attitude to the body runs through these cantos. 'La carne d'i mortali è tanto blanda' (XXII. 85): the flesh of mortals, so soft, is ideally 'magra e scalzi' (XXI. 128), lean and barefooted, formed only to be starved:

> al servigio di Dio mi fe' sí fermo,
>   che pur con cibi di liquor d'ulivi
> lievemente passava caldi e geli,
> contento ne' pensier contemplativi.
>   (XXI. 114–17)[59]

(In the service of God I became so firm that only with food from olive-juice I passed, happily, ice and warmth, content in contemplative thoughts.)

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use of John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[57] For Peter Damian's hostility to dialectic and rational theology, see Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought from Augustine to Ockham* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), pp. 96–97, and David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1988), p. 88.

[58] Freud, 'The Ego and the Id', *SE*, XIX, 53.

[59] On medieval fasting, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), chap. 2. This study refers to Peter Damian, quoting him that fasting was done 'to crucify the carnal passions [...] to break the taste and extinguish the fervour of concupiscence' (p. 216).

This confirms monastic tradition: the historical Romualdo spoke insultingly to his body: 'O gullet, gullet, you know how sweet, how delightful this food is to you — but woe to you, for you will never taste it.'[60] Stress on utter poverty and the anti-gluttonous stance in Dante recalls the stress on Francesco's poverty (XXII. 90) while in *Purgatorio*, following on from sloth and avarice, and in a canto in numerical apposition to this one, the Saturnine golden age is evoked, against gluttony, as a time of fasting (XXII. 148–50). For Boethius, the first age was one of fasting: if there had been plenty then, it would have been too much.[61] The desert hermits in the fourth century, perhaps because of the social reality of starvation levels within their society, placed the dangers of eating above sexual temptation. Foucault says of late antiquity:

> A whole development — evident in Christian monasticism — will be necessary before the preoccupation with sex will begin to match the preoccupation with food. But alimentary abstentions and fasts will long remain fundamental. And it will be an important moment for the history of ethics in European societies when apprehension about sex and its regimen will significantly outweigh the rigour of alimentary prescriptions.[62]

Where *Inferno* places lust before gluttony, conditioning history in terms of desire and the sexual, *Purgatorio* puts gluttony below lust. *Paradiso* continues that movement in narrativizing a history in reverse, a history going backwards in time, since the heaven of Venus is placed far below this heaven, showing the final, more emphatic triumph over not just 'the other' in sexual, desiring terms, but over the body as other.[63] A myth of increasing separation from the body works, so that the sexual is transcended, and the further stage is reached: exclusion of food. For Freud, refusal of nourishment in melancholia comes from the refusal of identification with an object-choice, the regression away from the other to the self

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[60] Quoted in Howe, 'Awesome Hermit', p. 117.

[61] 'Too much the former age was blest When fields their pleased owners failed not, Who, with no slothful lust oppressed Broke their long fasts with acorns easily got' (Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy,* II. 5m.; trans. by Stewart and Rand, p. 205).

[62] Foucault, *Care of the Self*, p. 141. See also Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 218–24.

[63] The triumph over the body as other in sexual terms is discussed by Foucault in relation to Cassian, effectively the founder of monasticism in the West, in 'The Battle for Chastity', in *Michel Foucault: Interviews and Other Writings 1977–1984*, ed. by Lawrence D. Kritzman (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 227–41. See also Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 420–23, on the distinction between Cassian's sense of sexuality and the Augustinian, which has become hegemonic in the Western world's 'history of sexuality'. See also my *Confession: Sexuality, Sin, the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 26–32.

(*SE*, XIV, 249–50). What is rejected speaks of the mother: *Powers of Horror*, discussing the Levitical Judaic dietary laws, links maternity, perceived as inherently defiling, with prescriptions on food:

> The evocation of defiled maternity [...] inscribes the logic of dietary abominations within that of a limit, a boundary, a border between the sexes, a separation between feminine and masculine as foundation for the organization that is 'clean and proper', 'individual', and, one thing leading to another, signifiable, legislatable, subject to law and morality.[64]

Single precise utterance comes from separation from the mother. What is clear and signifiable, like Damian's words which 'prescribe' and limit Dante *(Para.*, XXI. 104) is a desire for clear boundaries, as the men here have separated themselves from the world. As the Siren was rejected, so Beatrice's words to Dante (XXII. 7–21) push him further into the symbolic realm, away from the mother.[65]

Yet there remains in these cantos an excess of the signifier which links to the maternal, to the other and to the body. Peter Damian's language has signs of femininity:

> Luce divina sopra me s'appunta,
> penetrando per questa in ch'io m'inventro,
>   la cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta,
> mi leva sopra me tanto, ch'i' veggio
> la somma essenza de la quale è munta.
>
> <div align="right">(XXI. 83–87)</div>

> (A light divine is pointed above me, penetrating through this in which I embosom myself, whose virtue, joined with my vision, lifts me so much above, that I see the High essence from which it is milked.)

The neologism 'inventro' makes the light around him into a covering like that over the child in the womb; in 'munto', the light which penetrates him is milked from the divine essence. Perhaps the whole light of *Paradiso* turns into mother's

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[64] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 100.

[65] Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia,* trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 119. For 'severance', see pp. 135–38. There is an hieratic allegory in the cantos: for example, the golden ladder *(Para.*, XXII. 70–72), which prompts images of rising and descending and mountain existence; Jacob's ladder is linked to it. The ladder on Philosophia's clothes in Boethius's *Consolation* connects practical with theoretical philosophy; John Climacus, Abbot of Sinai, in *Scala Paradisi* (sixth century) sees 'the ladder as an allegory of the monk's mounting to God, struggling on the early rungs with the vices, later attaining the virtues and finally reaching the Pauline triad of faith, hope and charity' (Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 76).

milk and what is 'milked' is milk. If contemplation attempts to see otherness, this exists here as a flow, penetrating borders, overthrowing the centred self. The excess of the signifier shows in the way the self's identity is not contained by the names recurring in the cantos. There are four contemplative/melancholic souls, Peter Damian, Benedict, Macarius, and Romoaldo, but the names go beyond these: Damian evokes Cephas and St Paul (XXI. 127–28), Benedict calls Cephas Peter, as the first in a history of new beginnings, continues with himself, and associates with them both 'Francesco' (XXII. 88–90). Peter Damian's name evokes three people:

> In quel loco fu' io Pietro Damiano,
> e Pietro Peccator fu' ne la casa
> di Nostra Donna in sul lito adriano.
>   (XXI. 121–23)

(In that place I was Peter Damian, and Peter the sinner was in the house of Our Lady on the Adriatic shore.)

Peter Damian has two names, his own and his brother's, Damian, who brought him up. Further, he signed himself 'Petrus peccator monacus'. But 'Petrus Peccans', Peter the Sinner, died in 1119, forty-seven years after Peter Damian, in the Santa Maria monastery in Porto in Ravenna. In Dante, Peter Damian is also Peter the Sinner: are one or two historical individuals designated? Since Dante has asked him who he is (XXI. 105), it seems that identity cannot be fixed. It seems a case of 'due bestie van sott' una pelle' (XXI. 134), two animals going under one hide. Similarly, 'Macarius' in Canto XXII combines two different Egyptian monks, as a generic representative of the eremitical tradition in the East. The excess of names extends from Peter Damian to the Piero of XXII. 88: 'Pier comincio sanz' oro e sanz' argento'. The apostle, identified by reference to the text 'Silver and gold have I none' (Acts 3. 6), exists in the same figuration as Peter Damian. In the history of repeated cycles of action and beginnings, personal identity goes. Names circulate independent of their owners.[66]

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[66] Figurality in these cantos is linked to absence and deferral. In XXI. 16–18, perception is the action of receiving an image from the planet as a mirror, which does not contain in itself a reality. Mirrors, spoken of before by Cunizza *(Para.*, IX. 61–63), enable contemplation (compare *Purg.*, XXVII. 104). Cunizza spoke of mirrors in this heaven as confirming vision, but that is deferred by the figural nature of this heaven; a sense confirmed through the passing-over by Benedict when Dante asks if he can see him 'con imagine scoverta' (XXII. 60). 'For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face': that assurance is only a promise in a canto affirming figurality, including its own.

The monks' solitary worlds are impossibly separate from the present. Decline of contemplation, defined as failure to climb the ladder, is linked by Benedict with the failure of his order: 'e la regola mia | rimasa è per danno de le carte' (XXII. 74–75). The written-out rules simply waste the paper. The paper cannot be reused, and the text recognizes this. It could hardly be guessed from reading Dante that the Benedictine abbeys were still active:

> Le mura che solieno esser badia
> fatte sono spelonche, e le cocolle
> sacca son piene di farina ria.
> <div align="right">(XXII. 76–78)</div>

(The walls which used to be an abbey, are become caves, and the cowls are sacks, full of foul meal.)

The 'spelonche' are dens of thieves (Matthew 21. 13), and empty caves, Romanesque architecture suggesting cavernous space. Monastic clothes are full with rotten meal. The monks' existence is obliterated. Ravenna, death-place of Petrus Peccans, rather than being the site of memories of Peter Damian, confirms the distance between his world and Dante's. The space is empty: that world is irrecoverable. Historically, Peter Damian looked back to Benedict and to the primitive documents of the Benedictine rule, documents which Dante's Benedict calls so much waste paper, and to the Greek/Byzantine monastic life, through writings such as by Nilus of Rossano. And moving from Canto XXI to XXII means going upstream in time from Damian towards an imagined source, which has gone (Monte Cassino being not an origin but a palimpsest).

The distance from Dante appears in 'li moderni pastori' (XXI. 131): the text evokes a non-modern past. The historical Damian was not a modern, though he lived in times which saw an urban revolution and the emergence of a new discourse of avarice. Dante makes this eleventh-century figure speak in modern language, since he says he was drawn 'a quel cappello | che pur di male in peggio si travasa' (XXI. 125–26). The Cardinal's hat, the 'cappello' (contrasting with Benedict's cowl) was instituted in 1252. The speaker becomes a modern, identified despite himself with those emblems of secularity in the church which make him sarcastic about the method which modern pastors, who do not despise the body ('tanto son gravi', XXI. 132), must use to get on their horses since they are so heavy. (It is a slight hint of carnival.) But contemplation exists only outside the sphere of the modern. The narrative of decline could be broken only by an impossible reversal, like the Jordan or the Red Sea going back (XXII. 94–96), examples recalling *Purgatorio*, XVIII. 133–35. The melancholic's word *moderni*, however, marks another possibility: another way of seeing.

ON AVARICE

'The love of money [*philargyria*, love of silver] is a root of all kinds of evil' (I Timothy 6. 10, RV). And with this, we can start to define avarice. *Cupiditas*, from a Latin word meaning 'eagerly desirous', which generated the word *covetous* was Jerome's translation of *philargyria*. The word *avaritia*, from 'aveo', to crave, was an alterative translation for this: avarice, cupidity, and covetousness therefore being synonymous. In Colossians 3. 5, St Paul writes of 'covetousness, which is idolatry', as Ephesians 5. 5 referred to a 'covetous man, which is an idolater'. In Ephesians 4. 19, Paul associates sexual lust with covetousness. Avarice was the temptation of Judas. It was related to *pleonexia*, the desire to have more, the word usually translated as 'covetousness', but which Jerome called *avaritia*, also using *avarus*, the latter being the miser. Jerome made avarice 'the love to have', rather than 'the love of money'.

In Evagrius, it was important to have contempt, not just for wealth, but for matter itself; 'and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content' (I Timothy 6. 8) was his guidance: the goal being possessionlessness (*aktemosyne*). In his contemporary, John Chrysostom, avarice provoked wars, and robbery, and was associated with gluttony and lust, though being worse than either. Above all, it had a complex relationship with vainglory and with envy. Evagrius's order of GLATIAVS made sadness follow the failure of desire to possess. In Cassian's GLAITAVS, avarice led to wrath, not sadness, and wrath induced sadness. It was significant that avarice had the third place, as it did in and after the thirteenth century, as linked to the sins of the body, but also looking towards the spiritual. For Evagrius, 'the houses of the avaricious will be filled with the beasts of wrath, and the birds of sadness will nest in them'.[1] Wrath and sadness are its

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[1] Quoted in Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 55.

consequences, though *Purgatorio* follows Gregory's order, making the violence of wrath and sadness concomitants of envy.

Christ's temptations in Matthew 4. 1–11 were (a) to turn stones into bread, (b) to be set on the pinnacle of the temple, and (c) to be shown the kingdoms of this world. In Luke 4. 1–13, (c) comes second, and (b) third. The first temptation was associated with gluttony, Origen's connection. Tertullian had linked the hunger with the Israelites in the wilderness with Jesus's first temptation, saying that the sin of Adam and Eve was primarily gluttony. The second temptation in Matthew was associated with vainglory and the last with pride, for John Chrysostom had seen the first temptation of Christ as slavery to the stomach, the second as vainglory, and the third, the madness of riches. In Luke, the order was: gluttony, avarice, pride. This was the order associated with the triad of I John 2. 16: 'For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh [*voluptas carnis*], and the lust of the eyes [*curiositas*], and the pride of life [*superbia*], is not of the Father, but is of the world.' As James O'Donnell points out, with reference to Augustine, the third of these temptations is the contrary of humility, 'the virtue of the self as created being, counterpart of God as creator'. The second 'seeks illicit knowledge to the detriment of *sapientia*, the authentic knowledge that marks in us the illumination of the divine Word'. The first 'runs amok in love of created things without reference to God, and thus destroys the *caritas* that comes of the Spirit'.[2] The triad thus responds to God's triune character.[3]

In an allegory of Psalm 8, Augustine works backwards through the three temptations in speaking of those who did not 'kill their own pride, like high-flying birds, their curiosity like "fishes of the sea" and their sexual indulgence like "the beasts of the field"' (*Confessions*, V. 3, p. 74). *Confessions*, Book X, discusses all three; the first — the temptations of the flesh — through examining the five senses. He then passes to *curiositas*, called a form of 'cupidity' (X. 35, p. 211), connecting it with avarice. He had already referred to 'a sacrilegious quest for knowledge, which led me, a deserter from you [i.e., God], down to faithless depths and the fraudulent service of devils', since 'Curiosity appears to be a zeal for knowledge, yet you [God] supremely know all' (*Confessions*, III. 3, p. 37; II. 16, p. 31). Curiosity could, then, be defined as the desire to know forbidden things,

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[2] O'Donnell, *Augustine*, III, 203.

[3] O'Donnell (*Augustine*, III, 204) compares Cicero, *De officiis*, I. 4. 11–13. See Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of Modern Age*, trans. by Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), pp. 309–23. Augustine speaks positively of curiosity in education in *Confessions*, I. 14.

which was a form of avarice, a use of the eyes which contrasts with the look of envy.[4] So, as *Purgatorio*, XIX. 128–29, indicates, Dante's avaricious souls cannot see.

Augustine connects the three temptations analysed in Book X, plus the lusts of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, with the temptations of Christ, just as they had been connected with Eve's temptations: the tree was good for fruit, it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise (Genesis 3. 6). We start with an encounter with evil, continue with fascination with it, and end with an embracing and self-asserting acceptance of it.[5] (The order was to be set against the triad of chastity, poverty, and obedience in monasticism, which three qualities virtually defined humility.)[6] Bede took this list, making the pride of life avarice, desire of the flesh *uxoris appetitus*, desire of the eyes *gula*.[7]

Evagrius's and Cassian's order of sins had not included envy, which had no natural motivation: not being related to the needs of the body, or to biological life, unlike gluttony and lust. In the golden age, avarice had been unknown: it had brought the golden age to an end (so Cyprian, and so Lactantius, following Seneca, had taught). But equally, avarice, like envy, was outside man's instinctual nature; the temptation comes from outside: from seeing money (the lust of the eyes). So envy and avarice were to be associated in the later Middle Ages.[8] In Cassian's GLAITAVS, gluttony and lechery came from inside; avarice and wrath from outside. Similarly, sloth and sadness were internal, pride and vainglory external to the body, and these last two flourished when the previous six sins were eliminated. Avarice led to lying, fraud, theft, perjury, the desire for filthy lucre, false testimony, violence, savagery, and rapaciousness.

Newhauser argues that the founding of the Benedictine order placed a new emphasis on pride, and that avarice was seen in relation to that. Overemphasis on the self meant pride; possessing for oneself meant avarice. Augustine had spoken

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[4] Howard, *Three Temptations*, p. 53.

[5] Howard, *Three Temptations*, p. 57, discusses Augustine on this: three steps go to make up sin — suggestion, delectation, and consent. The suggestion comes from without or from within (the lust of the flesh), delectation is the wavering of the will (lust of the eyes) and consent is the rational determination of the will (the pride of life). On the temptations of Christ as recapitulating the Fall, see Brian O. Murdoch, *The Recapitulated Fall: A Comparative Study in Medieval Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1974), pp. 23–48.

[6] Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice', pp. 21, 39.

[7] Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 169.

[8] Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 198, citing the work of M. Vincent-Cassy.

of 'general avarice', making this instrumental in the Fall, along with gluttony and
vainglory. Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (575), discussed in Chapter 2, formulating the
sins as the heptad, SIIAAGL, Dante's order, made them suitable for monks and
laity. All sins stemmed from pride. The first four were spiritual, and the latter
two corporeal. Avarice came in the middle, between the spirit and the body.
Newhauser quotes Gregory:

> Sadness also leads to avarice, since when the disturbed heart has lost the benefit of joy
> within itself, it seeks to find consolation without, and it desires to get possession of
> external goods the more it has no happiness to which it might return internally. But after
> these there remain two carnal sins.[9]

Gregory also followed Augustine on the place of avarice, discussing Christ's
temptations, and virtually identified pride and avarice (see above, p. 28). He also
made avarice Christ's last temptation, and therefore the worst, following gluttony
and vainglory.[10] This order, of course, does not mesh with SIITAGL. Isidore,
following up on Gregory, distinguished between the *avarus*, who does not put his
own goods to use, and the *cupidus*, who desires what is another's.[11] With the
thirteenth-century Henry of Susa, avarice moves up, becoming second only to
pride in the order SALIGIA. Peter Damian, already discussed, had made more of
avarice in connection with simony, a subject which will be discussed below. For
Damian, the only possible preacher was somebody who possessed nothing of his
own.[12]

In English, 'covetous' is first recorded by *OED* in 1300, Dante's year. The
contentions over the poverty of the Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth
centuries are part of a new discourse about the church's right to possess poverty.[13]
Medieval representations of avarice are linked, by Little, to portrayals of mer-
chants, including Jews and Judas, whose avarice, taken from John 12. 6, which
assigned him a bag to put money in, is called his 'lance' in *Purgatorio*, XX. 74.
Panofsky, Saxl, and Klibansky note the association of avarice with melancholia:
'among the medieval descriptions of the melancholic there was none in which he

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[9] Newhauser, *Treatise*, p. 102; PL, LXXVII, cols 621–22.

[10] Howard, *Three Temptations*, p. 50.

[11] Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 109.

[12] Little, 'Pride Goes Before Avarice', pp. 21, 48.

[13] Nicholas Havely, *Dante and the Franciscans: Poverty and the Papacy in the 'Commedia'*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See William of Ockham, *On the Power of
Emperors and Popes*, ed. and trans. by Annabel S. Brett (Bristol: Theommes, 1998).

did not appear as avaricious and miserly'.[14] Little discusses the contrasts in art between the small crouching figure of avarice and the magnificent figure of pride. In Dante's sense of avarice, to which I now turn, there is no displaced erotic intensity, nor, unlike Molière's *L'Avare*, is the avaricious seen as a miser. Dante's avaricious are men at the height of earthly success: one, being a pope, can neither climb further, nor have a descendant. The other speaks of his descendants and sees that the height of earthly success is not fixed: its capacity to pursue and to absorb the other cannot end.

'My Soul Cleaveth unto the Dust'

Dante had examined the 'avaro' before, in the exilic canzone 'Doglia mi reca' (no. 83), often assumed to be the one on liberality mentioned at the end of *Convivio*, I. 8. 18.[15] Its personal bitterness is succeeded by *Purgatorio*'s more impersonal and comprehensive analysis, beginning in Canto XIX, line 70, after the dream of the Siren.[16] She represents the temptation towards a complete loss of self; perhaps the temptation to let go is what is meant in Virgil saying that it is on account of her that they weep above — in the circles of avarice, gluttony, and lust. The imagination gives credibility and embodiment to what she represents, and begins to desire. The Siren comes shortly before the dawn: the three sins to be encountered on Dante's third day in Purgatory are encountered as daytime sins. The episode of the avaricious is lengthy, for after the encounters with prostrate souls, it continues with Statius joining Virgil and Dante in a demonstration of community, and celebrating the new power he has of willing to go on upwards, and desiring to do so too (XXI. 61–69). Not until the end of Canto XXI is Dante free from the fifth mark on the face. But the topic is still not concluded, for after the paraphrase which Dante gives in reported speech of what the angel says (Matthew 5. 6: 'Blessed are they which do thirst after righteousness', leaving out the words 'esuriunt et' — 'hunger and', to be placed, properly before 'thirst'), discourse on the vice is resumed. Virgil asks how avarice (XXI. 23) could have found a place in Statius, who indicates that it was not avarice with him but its

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[14] Panofsky, Saxl, and Klibansky, *Saturn and Melancholy*, p. 284.

[15] See Patrick Boyde, *Dante's Style in his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 317–31.

[16] On Cantos XIX and XX, see Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory*, pp. 158–78; Boyde, *Human Vices*, pp. 149–73.

opposite, prodigality, 'dismisura' (l. 35).[17] Statius uses 'avaro' and 'avarizia' thrice in his speech (ll. 32, 34, 53), as if the affect cannot be left alone. The break before the circle of gluttony is encountered is not until line 130 of Canto XXII. Though conjoined with it in terms of its originating power, avarice is the opposite from pride. Pride can be looked at; avarice cannot. Its after-effects take time to be freed from, hence the necessity for the long conversations with Statius by which the sense of shame and of lowness that avarice gave are slowly forgotten.

The avaricious souls lie on the ground, face downward, in an expression of the verse from Psalm 119. 25 which they recite with sighs, 'Adhaesit pavimento anima mea' (XIX. 71). Virgil questions them on the path to be followed; the reply following allowing in its terms the possibility of delay, permitting Dante time to speak to the soul who has answered. There is no need to go 'più tosto' (l. 80): the shade who speaks will dismiss the poets in lines 139 and 140: 'Vattene omai: non vo' che più t'arresti; | ché la stanza mio pianger disagia' (Now go, I do not wish that you should stop more, for your staying takes away the opportunity of my weeping). The delay and the moving onward are governed by a response to the sin of *acedia*, and the reponses of the shade who gave the first reply and who speaks from lines 97 to 126 and again from 133 to 145 are crafted in terms of time and effort; Adrian V speaking of the lateness of his conversion, the shortness of his Papacy — one month and a little more — which was the time of his redeemed life, the lack of rest in the false life, given in language quoting Augustine: 'Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless till it reposes in thee' (*Confessions*, I. 11, p. 21). Effort is implied in being held fast by justice, 'ne' piedi e nelle man legati e presi' so that the only thing permitted to these souls — in contrast to the spirits on the previous cornice — is lying motionless, outstretched. Effort may only be put into weeping. There seems a reversal of the fourth cornice. Running was the opposite of what the souls did in life. But lying towards the ground, the place of money in every sense, the souls are held by what bound them in life.

The purgation has several valencies. The Papacy's task was to keep the mantle from the mire ('il fango'), but the mire is exactly what the Papacy did not keep itself from. Now it sees that mire close up. What avarice 'works' ('quel ch'avarizia fa', l. 115) — is a negation of work. Lines 112–26 repeat 'avara' (l. 113), 'avarizia' (l. 115), 'avarizia' (l. 121), culminating with Adrian saying that avarice 'spense a ciascun bene | lo nostro amore, onde opera perdési' (quenched from each good our

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[17] Compare the use of 'dismisura' in *Inferno*, XVI. 74, where it associates with pride, and is seen to be the new spirit at work in Florence. It leads in to the section on usury (XVII. 34–78), itself a new form of avarice.

love, whereby our works were lost, ll. 121–22). So the souls are held in a position where there can only be the work of mourning.

Adrian speaks within a discourse of justice (ll. 77, 120, 123, 125), which makes him invoke punishment (l. 114, 'punita'; l. 117, 'pena'), and to articulate, as no soul has until now, the nature of his penalty, as much as he acknowledges his fault in the references to avarice: the passage is strikingly confessional. Before, he was a soul wretched and separated from God ('misera e partita | da Dio anima fui'), the expression of which feeling comes out in the verse from the Psalm. Now he is literally that, and the misery felt then is borne out in present weeping. Everything here seems more appropriate to the conditions of *acedia*, suggesting how that overcodes what is placed above it. The passage conveys a sense that the Papacy should be an office to encourage penitentialism. Singleton points out the irony in the words 'conversione' (l. 106) and 'anime converse' (l. 116); converted souls, who have realized that only by conversion can there be any 'mounting' 'in quella vita' (l. 110), must become souls turned downwards in the dust. In the four *terzine* beginning with 'Quel ch'avarizia fa' (l. 115), the punishment for all is spelled out, and if there is no more bitter penalty, it is because it so directly answers to the souls' experience in life; they knew that avarice had this negating effect, which is emphasized in the punishment. The *terzina* 118–20 spells out the contrapasso literally, ending 'così giustizia'. The next *terzina*, which begins 'Come avarizia' (in apposition to line 115), ends 'così giustizia', so that *terzina* is balanced against *terzina* in a way suggestive of the even-handedness of justice: in this *terzina*, the contrapasso is stated abstractly, not literally. A *terzina* beginning with avarice and ending with justice makes the two contraries of each other: avarice sins against justice: as *Monarchia*, I. 11. 11, says, 'cupidity [cupiditas] is most opposed to justice'. Dante quotes, there, from Aristotle's *Ethics*, as he also says the opposite: that 'when greed is altogether absent, nothing remains that is opposed to justice'.[18] The 'quanto [...] tanto' of the last *terzina* and the balance of two nouns (feet and hands) and two verbs (tied and bound) brings out the balance of the justice further, as avarice is a sin against even-handedness. The stress on justice is completed, for this cornice, in Canto XXII, line 4, in the words of the angel, where pursuit of moderation is seen as desire for justice.

The speaker is Ottobuono de' Fieschi, pope for thirty-eight days in 1276: the passage puts the Papacy into a position of centrality, as well as dignity, as the Latin

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[18] *Ethics*, V. 1. 1130b, p. 263: 'Injustice in the particular sense is concerned with honour or money or security [...] its motive being the pleasure of gain.' The Latin translation uses *avaritia*, Dante prefers *cupiditas*, as the more general term. Cf., I Timothy 6. 10.

of line 99 implies, as well as looking forward to further discussion of the Papacy in Canto XX, with Boniface VIII, Benedetto Caetani (*c.* 1235–1303), who born and dying in Anagni, succeeded Celestine as pope after 1295.[19] Canto XIX parallels *Inferno* XIX, whose subject is simony, a word which in English belongs to the early thirteenth century (*OED* gives 1225, in the *Ancrene Rule*). Meaning 'trafficking in sacred things', simony is a special case of avarice.[20] What is common to both Cantos XIX is how the popes are inverted, looking down. *Inferno*, XIX.104, speaks openly against the popes for their avarice, which 'il mondo attrista' — makes the world sad. Avarice emanates from *acedia*, avarice causes *tristizia*.[21] The pope of *Inferno* XIX is Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, Nicholas III from 1277–80, who practised simony on behalf of his relatives. He prophesies the coming of two further popes, first, Boniface, who was followed by Benedict X1. Benedict's death in 1305 produced the election of Clement V (Raymond Bertrand de Got, 1264–1314), the Gascon pope who never entered Italy, but

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[19] He is referred to in *Inferno*, VI. 67, XV. 112–14, and in XIX. 52–87, where he is seen as a simoniac. See also XXVII. 85. See also *Para.*, XXVII. 22–26, which may be associated with Boniface's plotting, alluded to in XVII. 49–51. *Para.*, XXX. 139–48, alludes to both Clement and Boniface. The context there is cupidity ('cupidigia', l. 139). Celestine (Pietro Angeleri da Isernia, or Pietro da Morone), made pope in 1294, at nearly eighty, resigned the same year, and may be the spirit of *Inf.*, III. 59–60. Dying in a monastic cell near Alatri, where Boniface consigned him, he was canonized in 1313.

[20] On avarice in *Inferno* and especially in relation to the Papacy, and for a position which sees Dante as praising the poverty of the Franciscan order, which was a subject highly contested in Dante's own time, see Havely, *Dante and the Franciscans*, pp. 44–87. He discusses Mezzadroli's idea, that avarice is the sin most addressed in the *Commedia* (p. 44).

[21] Avarice is spoken of as a third associated with pride and envy in *Inf.*, VI. 74, and is the sin of clerics, popes, and cardinals in *Inf.*, VII. 48. The Florentines are avaricious, envious, and proud in *Inf.*, XV. 68 and it is the sin of the Bolognese, associated with pandering, in *Inf.*, XVIII. 63. The word appears twice in *Paradiso*, in VIII. 77, where Carlo Martello refers to the 'avara poverta' of Catalonia, and in symmetry with the other Cantos XIX, in XIX. 130, where it is associated with cowardice, and is the condition of the Aragonese Frederick II, who ruled Sicily from 1296–1337, son of Pedro III. (Manfred's daughter, Constance, married Pedro III: hence her sons James and Frederick became kings of Sicily and then Aragon.) Cupidity is blind and associated with mad rage in *Inf.*, XII. 49. Nicholas calls himself 'cupido', *Inf.*, XIX. 71, associating the quality with avarice. 'Cupidigia' appears in *Purgatorio*, VI. 104, for the greed of Albert and his father, which has kept both back from coming to Italy, and XX. 93 (applied to Philip) and XXXII. 154, where it applies to the Whore. It is most used in *Paradiso*, V. 79, where it applies to those who would go further than the guidance of the Church; in V. 89, where it has the neutral meaning of 'eager'; and in XV. 3, where it is contrasted with 'l'amore che drittamente spira', XXVII. 121, where greed is that which corrupts faith and innocence, and in XXX. 139.

operated from Avignon after becoming pope in 1309.[22] Clement is the other pope prophesied.[23]

This pope of *Purgatorio* XIX, Adrian V, gives his biography, and his life in Purgatory, returning to his life on earth in the canto's last four lines.[24] He begins with the names of two Genoese towns, Sestri and Chiaveri, and says how a little river deepens there, which he does not name (it is the Lavagna), from which name his family took their title, as counts of Lavagna. He ends with his niece, Alagia: a niece I have, he says, the wife of Morello Malaspina.[25] Even in these last four lines, something of a possessiveness appears, even if it is cast in a forlorn manner, since

[22] For Clement, of whom Dante had spoken of approvingly in his fifth Epistle (v. 10), for giving support to Henry VII, see *Inf.*, XIX. 82–87, *Para.*, XVII. 82, XXX. 142–48. See George Holmes, 'Dante and the Popes', in *The World of Dante: Essays on Dante and his Times*, ed. by Cecil Grayson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 18–33, and his '*Monarchia* and Dante's Attitude to the Popes', in *Dante and Governance*, ed. by Woodhouse, pp. 46–57. For Holmes, Dante's interest in the Papacy postdates *Convivio*, centring on the three Epistles, to the Princes and Peoples of Italy; to the People of Florence; to Emperor Henry VII; to the cardinals Napoleone Orsini and Jacopo Stefaneschi. The first had opposed Boniface, the second supported Boniface's policies. It comprises also the later cantos of *Purgatorio* and on *Monarchia*. Holmes calls *Monarchia* III 'a polemical attack on the pretensions of the papacy' — and its avarice ('*Monarchia* and Dante's Attitude to the Popes', pp. 53, 56).

[23] Thirteenth-century popes were: Innocent III (1198–1216) — see *Para.*, XI. 92); Honorius III (1216–27) — see *Para.*, XII. 98); Gregory IX (1227–41), Innocent's nephew; Celestine V (1241); Innocent IV (1243–54, ruling from Lyon); Alexander IV (1254–61); Urban IV (1261–64); Clement IV (1265–68) — see *Purg.*, III. 125; Gregory X (1271–76, ruling from Lyon); Innocent V (1276); Adrian V (1276) — see *Purg.*, XIX); John XXI (1276–77); Pietro Spano, in *Para.*, XII. 134; Nicholas III (1277–80) — see *Inf.*, XIX; Martin IV (1281–85) — see *Purg.*, XXIV. 20–24; Honorius IV (1285–87); Nicholas IV (1288–92); Celestine V (1294); Boniface VIII (1294–1303); Benedict XI (1303–04); Clement V, Archbishop of Bordeaux (1305–14); and John XXII, Bishop of Avignon (1316–34) — see *Para*, XVIII. 58–60. Elizabeth M. Hallam argues that all the popes from Clement IV on were clients of the French: *Capetian France, 987–1328* (London: Longman, 1980), p. 320. Urban IV made the initial offer of Naples and Sicily to Louis IX, continuing it to Charles of Anjou (Richard Cooper, 'The French Dimension in Dante's Politics', in *Dante and Governance*, ed. by Woodhouse, pp. 58–84 (p. 70). See J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[24] See Clothilde Soave-Bowe, '*Purgatorio* 19: Adrian V', in *Dante Readings*, ed. by Eric Haywood (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987), pp. 123–42.

[25] Currado Malaspina († *c.*1255) married Costanza, Frederick II's daughter. Dante meets his grandson, Currado II, *Purg.*, VIII. 19. Another grandson, Franceschino, hosted Dante in 1306. A third was Moroello (the 'vapor' of *Inf.*, XXIV. 145). Another niece of Adrian V, Beatrice, married 'Giudice Nino gentil', *Purg.*, VIII. 53.

there is only one left. She is 'buona da sè', but the family is not spoken of so well, and indeed, in the next circle, the Bonifazio of Canto XXIV, line 130, is identified with another of the Fieschi, a nephew of Innocent IV, also a Fieschi, and made Archbishop of Ravenna (1274–95) by Gregory X. Bonifazio parallels Adrian, who, as son of Teodoro Fieschi, was another nephew of Innocent IV. The text, taking as unconscious background the simony of *Inferno* XIX, intimates the presence of simony, as a family failing, and binds together, through family influence, avarice (a family practice) and gluttony (a personal failing). But for Adrian, becoming a pope, the moment when he knew he could not rise higher in that life, though he was never ordained, consecrated, or crowned — means discovery what avarice imports : that the heart is not at rest, though all desire seems to have been fulfilled — and desire is shown to be empty, as, desperately ill, he left Rome in August 1276 to die at Viterbo. The split between personal ambition and the office he holds — wearing the 'gran manto' (cf. *Inf.*, XIX. 69) is apparent in the use of the official Latin, saying that he is a successor to the Peter whom Dante speaks of in *Inferno*, XIX. 90–96, as having no connection with silver and gold, and then in how he refuses Dante showing respect to him by kneeling.

Avarice and the French

> Maledetta sie tu , antica lupa,
> che più che tutte l'altre bestie hai preda
> per la tua fame sanza fine cupa!
> <div align="center">(XX. 10–12)</div>

(Accursed be you, ancient wolf, that has your prey more than all other beasts, because of your endlessly deep hunger!)

The succeeding canto deepens the commentary. The 'lupa' of *Inferno* I was related to avarice in *Inferno* VII, where Pluto was 'maledetto lupo' (line 8) and it returns when Dante sees 'la gente che fonde a goccia a goccia | per li occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occupa' (the people that pour out tear by tear the evil that occupies all the world) — a 'mal' that is then allegorized as the ancient wolf, and making the wolf of *Inferno* I now seem to suggest the Papacy; save that now, the wolf is that which has possessed the Papacy. And if the lion of *Inferno* I suggests the power of France, it seems now that its character has been absorbed by that of the wolf; though, politically, the wolf has been taken over by the lion.

One soul that Dante hears in front of him calls out, alone, examples of liberality: first, 'dolce' Mary, singling out, in a line with great emphasis, her leading

characteristic: 'Povera fosti tanto' (XX. 22), associating sweetness with poverty. In the same way, 'buon' Fabricius, in the next example, associates 'povertà' with 'virtute' — rather than, as with avarice, 'gran ricchezza [...] con vizio'. Fabricius appeared in *Convivio*, IV. 5. 12–13,

> E chi dirà che fosse sanza divina inspirazione, Fabrizio infinita quasi moltitudine d'oro rifiutare, per non volere abbandonare sua patria?
>
> (And who will say that it was without divine inspiration that Fabricius refused a virtually infinite amount of gold, because he would not abandon his native land?)

The sense that the Republican Romans were divinely inspired is as amazing as is the Averroës-like sense that Dante has of the divine power of virtue. *Monarchia*, II. 5. 11, returns to the subject:

> Did not Fabricius give us a lofty example of resisting avarice? Although he was extremely poor, he made fun of the gold he had been offered for the loyalty by which he was bound to the commonwealth, and having had his laugh, he despised and rejected the bribe in words worthy of himself. Our poet made this example more memorable when he sang in his sixth book: 'And Fabricius, | powerful in his small possessions'. (*Aen.*, VI. 843–44)

The narrative derives from Augustine (*City of God*, V. 18), and makes Fabricius one of those who on an embassy to King Pyrrhus of Epirus in 280 BCE turned down a bribe to abandon his country.

The third example, of Nicholas, links 'larghezza' with the act of leading 'giovinezza' to 'onor'. Instead of poverty being praised, as in the other examples, here is shown a proper use of weath, of Aristotelian liberality.

The examples of souls preferring to beggar themselves sound allegorical, as do the abstract nouns that are linked with them; similarly, the 'lupa' recalls allegory, and by implication, summons up the 'veltro' in contrast, 'questi non ciberà terra né peltro' (*Inf.*, I. 103). The greyhound's links with poverty echo here. It is as if there is something old-fashioned in the language, which may explain why Dante says that the soul 'queste degne lode rinovelle' (l. 36). The soul renews, in the morning, praise of generosity as opposed to condemnation of avarice at night (l. 103), but 'rinovelle' implies making new, anticipating the 'dolce stil novo ch'i' odo' of Canto XXIV. 57.

The soul that speaks, until line 123, is Hugh Capet. He is perhaps a composite of both the father (Hugh the Great) and his son, the father being known in a *chanson de geste* as prodigal not avaricious.[26] Certainly there is no hope for advantage in himself, when he says he will speak to Dante but not hoping for

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[26] See Richard Cooper, 'French Dimension in Dante's Politics', pp. 66, 58–84.

solace for so doing (ll. 37, 40–41). Dante has already spoken of the 'cammin corto' which is hastening to its end: it is one of several signs in this circle and canto that *Inferno* I is being recalled, and qualified: Dante speaks in the mode of *contemptus mundi*, appropriate for this circle. Perhaps Hugh Capet's prodigality is gestured to in his praise, uttered by himself. Like a woman in travail, he prays to Mary. He identifies himself to Dante in allegorical terms, as the root of a tree, as if recalling the Tree of Jesse in Gothic cathedral windows (which included Mary giving birth). Immediately he turns to the power of that which would, only two years after the time of his speaking, contain France's ambitions. He refers in lines 46–48 to Douai, Lille, Gent, and Brugge, cities of Flanders which in May 1302 threw off the French yoke which had been imposed in 1300, and to the time when Flemish weavers massacred the French during Matins at Brugge — in an episode analogous to the Sicilian Vespers — producing a pitched battle on 11 July 1302 at Courtrai, where a thousand French knights died before the Flemish, armed with knives like mercenaries. Political humiliation for the French followed. Truce was made in 1303 which enforced Philip's ceding the land north of the Lys to Robert de Béthune, the son of Guy of Dampierre. The problem with Flanders did not, however, go away in Philip's lifetime.[27]

This humiliation shows the intensity of Hugh Capet's engagement with land — imaged in the dust — and its loss; it is consonant with his avarice, even if not avarice that speaks. The hat is the root, and Hugh speaks of his own roots as marked by poverty: 'figliuol fu' io d'un beccaio di Parigi' (XX. 52), so that paternity (being the son of a butcher) and kingship both seem almost carnival-esque. There was a similar carnival suggestion in the popular story of Nicholas that he has rehearsed: the bishop giving money away contrasts with the situation of Canto XIX. In contrast to the examples of generosity, and to the ancient kings who came to an end, save for one who became a monk, he finds himself loaded, weighed down: *possa* and *acquisto* and *pieno* are significant words in what follows. So is *stretto*, which does imply avarice, as not the opposite of prodigality but as existing in an ambivalent relationship with it. The sceptre is spoken of as though it gripped him tight, not him gripping it tight.

> trova' mi stretto ne le mani il freno
> del governo del regno, e tanta possa
> di nuovo acquisto, e sì d'amici pieno,

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[27] Hallam, *Capetian France*, p. 281; Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages: From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc*, trans. by Juliet Vale (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 265.

> ch'a la corona vedova promossa
> la testa di mio figlio fu [...]
>   (xx. 55–59)

(I found tight in the hands the reins of the government of the kingdom, and so much power from new acquisitions, and so full of friends that the widowed crown was promoted to the head of my son [...])

The hat which gives the surname 'Chapette' or the Italian 'Ciappetta', and which was a sign of Ugo as a lay abbot, has become a crown, but widowed, masked by loss, like Shakespeare's 'hollow crown'.[28] As the 'root' speaks, avarice is subtly, unconsciously, defined as a desire to secure the future, not let it slip out of the hands of the person who possesses — or thinks that he possesses — the present. Hugh Capet has secured a dynasty, which has since borne his name, creating an irony that his anxiety to pass on the succession to his son and to accumulate a future for himself means that he accumulates all the shame of the future that he feels. He is in himself a condemnation of avarice, and he proclaims it before he reaches the examples of avarice, in his descendants, who are his avatars. The irony that inheres in the desire to accumulate returns to trouble him, and the drive with which he speaks about his offspring shows how he is caught up in that irony, not able to master it, while both repelled and excited by what he speaks about.

He says that the Capetian dynasty, apart from the first Robert and the first Henri, either named Philip or Louis, are said to have been of little worth, but not evil, until the dynasty acquired the dowry of Provence in 1246. This refers to the daughters of Raymond Berenger IV of Provence marrying into the Capetian

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[28] 'In 987, on the death of Louis V, the last Carolingian, assemblies of nobles and bishops held at Compiègne and Senlis had offered the crown to Hugh Capet, a powerful magnate, Count of Paris, Senlis, Dreux and Orléans. He, by persuading his peers to accept his son, Robert, as his heir, quickly began to turn elective kingship into hereditary monarchy': Roger Price, *A Concise History of France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 30. The beginnings of avarice, in tying succession to a family, are hinted at. Robert succeeded in 996 (crowned in 987). Price adds (p. 31) that anointment with holy oil distinguished the Capetians from other territorial lords, giving them more legitimacy: see 'le sacrate ossa' (l. 60). The three Capetian kings Price distinguishes (p. 32) for their accumulation of royal power are Philip Augustus (1180–1223), St Louis (Louis IX, 1226–70) and Philip the Fair (1285–1314). Only the third is mentioned by Dante, but lines 64–66 take in the events of the previous two. The last of the Carolingians was Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who, as a vassal of the Emperor, could not be acceptable to the French as king, hence Hugh Capet, in taking the throne, kept him in captivity until his death in 992. The king who ended as a monk was not, then, Charles of Lorraine, but perhaps is meant to be the last of the Merovingian kings, Childeric III, who was deposed by Pépin le Bref in 752, and was confined as a monk at Saint-Omer, until his death in 755.

monarchy. Louis IX (r. 1226–70) married Margaret, and Beatrice, the youngest daughter, married Charles of Anjou (1220–85), son of Louis VIII, thereby handing him Provence.[29] The opportunity for gain, which would appeal to the man eager for it, is double-edged, for the Capetians, thus enriched, then set out on a career of force and lies, inseparable from the desire for acquisition, covering 'for amends' their gains in Provence by taking three territories from the English: Ponthieu (Picardy, ceded to England in 1279, taken back in 1290), Normandy (taken beforehand, as if proleptically, in 1203, but ceded to France in Philip the Fair's reign), and Gascony (1294).[30] The words 'per ammenda' (ll. 65, 67, 69) bring out, in their legal terminology, avarice at work, which the *terzina* 67–69 expands by dwelling on the French kings' expansionism. First, Charles of Anjou comes into Italy, on the invitation of Clement IV, to destroy Manfredi at Benevento: the narrative re-accentuates that episode of invasion and papal interference, putting it under the sign of avarice. Charles's career makes an end of Conradin, who was the legitimate heir to Naples and Sicily, his place usurped by Manfredi, who was also, by implication, activated by avarice. Conradin came into Italy to fight Charles of Anjou (the second usurper) and was killed after the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268).[31]

Hugh Capet continues with what he sees (ll. 70, 80, 86, 88, 89, 91; compare, for contrast line 95) with a growing intensity that implies its own rapaciousness: the desire to see being, as discussed before in relation to envy, part of an aggressively possessive drive. Objectivity disappears as he envisions his descendants hungry for new possessions: is Hugh Capet wholly separate, in his intensity of reference, from the desires of his descendants, or are these actions ones in which he continues to exist as fascinated by the acquisitive spirit? That gives more

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[29] Charles Martel — grandson of Charles of Anjou — calls this his territory, *Para.*, VIII. 58–60. For the marriages, see *Para.*, VI. 133–35.

[30] For the war against the English in Gascony, see Hallam, *Capetian France*, p. 280: peace with England was not signed until 1303.

[31] Conradin was defeated by the French commander Érard de Valéry, for whom see *Inf.*, XXVIII. 17–18. Charles of Anjou is seen in *Purg.*, VII. 113, as the man 'dal maschio naso', and he sings with Peter III of Aragon, who took over Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers had driven the French out of Sicily. Enemies are united. The comment of Dante in *Inf.*, XIX. 99, almost implies that Dante virtually recognized Charles's claim to Sicily: see also, in that context, *Para.*, VIII. 67–75. Charles's son, Charles II (1248–1309), for whom see XX. 79–81, is alluded to in *Purg.*, VII. 124 as being less than his father, but his son, Charles Martel (1271–95), who met Dante in Florence in 1294, is the substance of *Para.*, VIII, making complex any argument which implies that family descent is always downward.

meaning to his sense of being the root. His tone is not neutral, and his moments of narrative are, in their intensity, attempts to grasp at a situation. The desire to see, which he expresses in line 95, grasps at a situation: it is a wish which is consonant with the circle of the avaricious, and it makes this canto not simply an indictment of avarice, but partaking of its energies.

He describes 'un altro Carlo' (Charles de Valois (1270–1325), brother of Philip the Fair) coming out of France and so jousting to make the paunch of Florence burst: the words aligning avarice with gluttony, and recalling *Inferno*, VI. 49–50, which made the 'sack' of Florence to be overstuffed with envy. Avarice, gluttony and envy align in words which recall Acts 1. 18: that Judas purchased a field with the reward of his iniquity (the thirty pieces of silver), and, falling headlong, his bowels gushed out. The body's dehiscence which reveals the foulness within exemplifies the city's nihilism (its envy, avarice, and gluttony) which another's avarice taps and reveals. The emptiness of Florence has been revealed by time, as the time makes Charles de Valois and those with him better known: it reveals their emptiness, the second episode of the second Charles being more intense — emptier — than the first. Charles comes empty, expecting to gain an army from Boniface, and it is said he wins not land. *Inferno*, I. 103, is echoed, while the words, which contain the mockery of the man who notes the lack of success of the avaricious, play on his nickname, 'Sanzaterra'). But only an avaricious man would note the absence of land, even if he proceeds to draw the moral, that he will win 'peccato e onta' — sin and shame: emptiness indeed. This will be more grievous to him (taking him to hell, presumably), because he will esteem the guilt he has worth nothing ('più lieve'): the emptiness he gets is a heaviness which he takes as signifying nothing. A third Charles follows in the next *terzina*:

> L'altro, che già uscì preso di nave,
> veggio vender sua figlia e patteggiarne
> come fanno i corsar de l'altre schiave.
> O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,
> poscia c'ha' il mio sangue a te sì tratto,
> che non si cura de la propria carne?
>
> (ll. 79–84)

(The other, who before came, taken, out of a ship, I see selling his daughter, and haggling as do pirates with female slaves. O avarice, what can you more do to us, since that my blood is so drawn to you that it has no care of its proper flesh?)

This Charles, son of Charles of Anjou: Charles the Lame (1248–1309), contrasts with St Nicholas. After the Sicilian Vespers (1282), he came from Provence to help his father retake Sicily, and was captured in 1284 by the admiral

of the Sicilian fleet under the power of Pedro III of Aragon, Manfredi's son-in-law.[32] His entrance onto the stage being thus debased (like the origin of the Capetian kings), he goes on to show his low class by selling his daughter to Azzo VIII, Marquis of Este, and haggling over her price.[33] The lines, which contrast with Adrian's sense of the value of his niece, cut between a sense of the carnival-esque and another of deep degradation, and the following didactic *terzina*, commenting on 'us' — the Capetians — is a contrast to it, as a rhetorical address to Avarice as something outside the subject, the personification serving as a metonymy for the wealth that so attracts the Capetians that they prefer it to their own flesh. But Hugh Capet has not finished; in a dramatic move he passes, in an accumulative manner — the acquisitive spirit — to a fourth case of avarice, in Philip the Fair (1268–1314), presented as a climax to all else:

> Perché men paia il mal futuro e il fatto,
> veggio in Alagna intra lo fiordaliso,
> e nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
>
>   Veggiolo un altra volta esser deriso;
> veggio rinovellar l'aceto e 'l fiele,
> e tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.
>
>   Veggio il novo Pilato sì crudele,
> che ciò nol sazia, ma sanza decreto
> portar nel Tempio le cupide vele.
>
>   O Segnor mio, quando sarò io lieto
> a veder la vendetta che, nascosa,
> fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo secreto?
>
>   (ll. 85–96)

(So that less may appear the evil future and what is past, I see the fleur-de-lis enter into Alagna [Anagni], and Christ be taken captive in his vicar. I see him a second time derided, I see renewed the vinegar and the gall, and him slain between living thieves. I see the new Pilate so cruel that this does not satisfy him, but, without decree, he carries his greedy sails into the temple. O my Lord, when shall I be satisfied by seeing the vengeance that, hidden, makes sweet the anger in your counsels?)

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[32] Pedro appears in *Purg.*, VII. 112–14, paired with Charles of Anjou. Pedro († 1285) claimed Sicily through his marriage to Constance, Manfredi's daughter, and ruled Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, and Aragon also, after 1276. The avarice of Nicholas III, plotting against Charles of Anjou, which precipitated the Sicilian Vespers is alluded to in *Inf.*, XIX. 98–99. Also for Charles the Lame, see *Para.*, VI.106, and XIX. 127.

[33] This Azzo is the stepson who kills Obizzo II d'Este (?1243–93) in *Inf.*, XII. 111–12. Carlo seems to have married his daughter to a parricide.

Philip is unnamed in the *Commedia*. Son of Philip III and elder brother of Charles de Valois, he became King of France in 1285.[34] Alluded to by the Pope in *Inferno*, XIX. 87, he reacted infamously to Boniface VIII. The quarrel stemmed from Philip taxing the French clergy, and Boniface replying with a bull, *Clericis laicos* (1296), asserting papal rights to property. In November 1302, Boniface issued the bull *Unam sanctam* which declared, stated, and pronounced 'that it is altogether necessary for salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff'.[35] Not Philip in person but his emblem, his substitute, the fleur-de-lis — as Pilate did not himself condemn Jesus, but left that to others — then entered Anagni, imprisoning the Pope. The Colonna did the work of physically abusing the old man, along with Philip's emissary, William of Nogaret, alluded to here as the other living thief.[36] The language of the Passion, to describe what happened to Boniface, brings out a point about Christ's Passion, that it was motivated and enabled by avarice, as with Judas's corruption; while the repetition that is enforced in lines 88, 89, and 91 emphasizes that there is nothing exceptional about the violence within avarice: it is always renewable. 'Crudele' (l. 91) extends beyond the treatment of Boniface as a replay of the violence done to Christ, and implies that like avarice, cruelty, which seems a part of it, has no limits, not even expected ones.

Whereas the violence to Boniface was framed in the terms of Christ's passion, the violence to the Templars, the next example, is a modern instance, with no figural precedent and implying no future limitation. In another metonymy, and continuing the practice of not naming him (he is 'il novo Pilato') Philip's greedy sails enter the temple. The example of Charles the Lame shows a man discarding his own flesh (his daughter), now Christ's body must suffer again, the new Pilate so cruel (part of avarice), that, not satisfied (a second quality), he goes lawlessly (no need now for a papal decree: avarice is violence) into the temple like, as

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[34] Philip III (r. 1270–85) appears in *Purg.*, VII. 103, as the 'nasetto', alongside Henry of Navarre. These are father and father-in-law respectively of Philip the Fair. Philip the Fair is the first and only French king treated critically by Dante (and note his phantasmagoric appearance as the giant in *Purg.*, XXXII. 152). See *Purg.*, VI. 19–24, for Philip III.

[35] Quoted in Hallam, *Capetian France*, p. 316. For Hallam (pp. 315–16), the humiliation of Courtrai reined Philip in: hence Hugh Capet begins his speech with reference to it (XX. 46–48) as if, if it had been more sharp in its effect, the incidents of lines 85–93 would not have taken place. On the political issues raised by *Unam sanctam* see J. A. Watt, 'Spiritual and Temporal Powers', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 367–423.

[36] Hallam, *Capetian France*, p. 316: see p. 313 for the Colonna's opposition to Boniface.

Sapegno suggests, a pirate ship (recalling 'i corsar'). Entry into the temple, which is metonymic for the sanctity of the Templar order, is the ultimate affront, a display of curiosity, readiness to profane anything, where debasement characterizes avarice. The suppression of the Templars began with a mass arrest on 13 October 1307, followed by their trial, and the suppression of the order in 1312. Elizabeth Hallam quotes Villani, that Philip 'was moved by his avarice, and made secret arrangements with the pope and caused him to promise to destroy the order of the Templars, laying to their charge many articles of heresy; but it is said that this was more in the hope of extracting great sums of money from them'.[37] Clement V's modern biographer, Sophia Menache, who emphasizes his avarice in the matter of their prosecution, quotes the charge against the Templars, 'suspicion of making outrageous and wicked profit, and also of idolatry and sodomy'.[38] The charge that they practised usury suggests how avarice debases everything to the dust; while allying heresy with sexual deviation, demonizing sodomy because it can be read in alignment with sin against God, belongs to the history of sexuality. Avarice triumphs in the name of its condemnation of what it holds to be against nature. The relative places given to avarice and to sodomy will be noted. And before leaving Philip the Fair, the reference to him, though he is still not named, in *Paradiso*, XIX. 118–20, is noteworthy. He has debased the coinage, sustaining the condemnation of avarice built up through three separate Cantos XIX.

Having given instances of avarice which embraced four of his descendants — Charles of Anjou, Charles de Valois, Charles the Lame, and Philip the Fair — Hugh Capet turns to examples of avarice that the cornice's inhabitants celebrate with him at nighttime. Seven instances appear, and here may be seen what is in avarice, for Dante, and what these cantos have led towards:

> Noi repetiam Pigmalion allotta,
> cui traditore e ladro e paracida
> fece la voglia sua de l'oro ghiotta;
>   e la miseria de l'avaro Mida,
> che seguì a la sua dimanda gorda,
> per la qual sempre convien che si rida.
>   Del folle Acàn ciascun poi si ricorda,
> come furò le spoglie, sì che l'ira
> di Iosüe qui par ch'ancor lo morda.

[37] Hallam, *Capetian France*, pp. 319–20.

[38] Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 209.

> Indi accusiam col martiro Saffira;
> lodiam i calci ch'ebbe Elïodoro;
> e in infamia tutto 'l monte gira
>   Polinestòr che' ancise Polidoro;
> ultimamente ci si grida: 'Crasso,
> dilci, che 'l sai: di che sapore è l'oro?'
>   (XX. 103–17)

(We repeat Pygmalion, then, whom insatiate lust of gold made traitor, and thief and parricide, and the misery of the miser Midas, which followed his greedy demand, for which it suits that we for ever laugh. Then we remember the mad Achan, how he stole the spoils, so that the anger of Joshua here seems still to bite him. Then we accuse Saffira with her husband, praise the kicks that Heliodorus had, and all the mountain circles in infamy Polymestor who killed Polydorus; lastly, we cry out, 'Crassus, tell us, you know, what savour has gold?')

After Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, comes Midas, called 'avaro', whose final state, wearing ass's ears, evokes the carnival and satirical spirit implicit in this canto. The word *gorda* used for him connects avarice to gluttony, as does *ghiotta* in the previous example, and the question that is put to Crassus at the end. The third is the Old Testament example of Achan, called 'mad' in a way which suggests the power of avarice as a passion. The fourth — a double example — is the New Testament Sapphira and her husband, Ananias. Significantly, in this middle example, the woman is named. Both examples are initiatory: Achan comes at the beginning of the history of the Jews in the promised land, Ananias and Sapphira at the beginning of the history of Christianity. The fifth is Heliodorus, in a story taken from Maccabees, stealing the treasures from the temple, and killed by a horse adorned with a rich covering, with a rider wearing armour of gold. (The crime recalls the reference to Philip's sails entering the temple and foreshadows that modern event.) The sixth is Polymnestor, who slew Polydorus, the son of Priam, in an episode recounted in *Metamorphoses*, which uses the word *avarus* of Polymestor (XIII. 434).[39] The pun on *oro* in the name is obvious: the man who killed identified his victim with gold. Including 'Eliödoro' — the man who steals is identified with gold — the four mentions of gold in this passage culminate with the last word that is said to Crassus, who was a Roman triumvir along with Caesar and Pompey, and who completes the examples by circling back to Roman mythology.

[39] See Polydorus in *Inf.*, XXX. 19.

These examples stress community which frustrates the divisive effects of avarice: the entire cornice indicates the power of both weeping and laughing, of both being solitary and communal. The avaricious tell each other stories, as if the spirit of sharing a narrative contrasts with avarice. In calling out to the non-present Crassus, who could not reply because his mouth was stopped with gold, the mood is carnivalesque; the miseries of Midas are laughed at; the kicks of the non-human horse are praised. There is not a single *terzina* for each of the examples, but instead examples are squashed together, collapsing order.

The examples are rich psychologically; this is inseparable from the point that each contains its *contrapasso* (which adds to the sense of carnival). Desire for gold drives Pygmalion into three forms of violent excess; Midas's ears display a truth about his greed, and the example of mad Achan again emphasizes excess, which is followed by the equally powerful reaction from Joshua, which still seems to bite, so powerful is it. Peter's accusation of Ananias and Sapphira (in parallel to that of Joshua) is taken up in a new communal accusation which is, of course, self-accusation, seeing avarice as both feminine and masculine, and spoiling what it touches, as it is touched by the possibility of spoils, spoiling what has been begun. (The central position of the word *spoglie*, placed before the caesura, is note-worthy.) The kicks Heliodorus received recognize a stupidity within avarice, and the memory of Polymestor recalls the power of violence within avarice. These instances run in palindromic form: Pygmalion/Polymestor; Midas/Heliodorus; Achan/Ananias and Sapphira. The last example is separated by an 'Ultimamente' which allows the figure of Crassus to dominate as the final example of how avarice may be allegorized: as a decapitated head — an object, a spoil, a trophy, an idol even — that is stuffed full of molten gold, unable to speak, or breathe. The nature of avarice is to be associated not with the body — that makes for its difference from gluttony and from lust — but with the mouth and with the head: so it associates with pride, and the sins which have to do with the will. Perhaps that is one of the significances of being called 'Capet', and it explains why there are elements of carnival here, for that sets the body against the rational head, as Charles the Lame was happy to sell off his own 'flesh' in his daughter. Whereas melancholia is a form of collapse within the mind, avarice is its opposite, doing anything in its self-minded pursuit.

Unlike sloth, avarice works. Its readiness to ruin is as much exemplified by Pygmalion as by Midas, whose discovery that everything has turned into gold is actually ruinous. In Achan, avarice destroys what has just been won, while with Ananias and Sapphira it contaminates insofar as it sets itself up as the only value going. Heliodorus and of Polymestor illustrate different forms of devaluation: one

figure regards the sacred treasure as profane and learns his lesson too late; the other devalues laws of hospitality, killing Polydorus for his money (money equalling life). Crassus supplements all others in demonstrating a devaluation of life, the body, and the senses: the smell of gold resonates with XIX. 33.

Concluding, it may be said that avarice is the predominant negative emotion: more than pride, envy, anger, or sloth. Nor will gluttony or lust equal its spirit. The canto needs carnival glimpses. The stress on gold running through the examples of greed produces Statius's energetic reading of Virgil's no less energetic words about the hunger for gold: 'Perché non reggi tu, o sacra fame | de l'oro, l'appetito de' mortali' (XX. 40–41) — taken from *Aeneid*, III.56–57, 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis | auri sacra fames'. Statius, appearing with Canto XXI, has been imprisoned on the circle not for avarice its opposite, prodigality, and has been saved from that by reading Virgil's words on greed. The text which has to do with avarice, he, by inverting it, in carnivalesque manner, as though the words were part of a rebus, and he was engaged in dream-interpretation, has rewritten. Translated, it is now a reproach to its other; it now attracts prodigality: 'why do you not control mortal appetites, O sacred hunger for gold'.[40] Avarice and prodigality as two attitudes to gold, are not so much opposites, as ambivalently related, contained within each other, as the word *sacra* means both 'accursed' or 'sacred'. Both implications suit with what René Girard has to say on the sacred, or Julia Kristeva on the abject.[41] One attitude hugs the world, but needs to profane the sacred, to make it contemptuous, to bring it down to the dust (like Philip the Fair). Prodigality holds the material world in contempt, as dust.

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[40] On the interpretations of this citation from Virgil, see Christopher Kleinhenz, 'The Celebration of Poetry: A Reading of *Purgatorio* XXII', *Dante Studies*, 106 (1988), 21–42. Virgil's context is the murder of Polydorus, cp. XX. 115. Statius's re-reading of Virgil's cry is called a 'curiously distorted echo' by John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), p. 15. Violence relates to both avarice and 'dismisura'. Compare the 'accursed gold' of Harmonia's necklace which Eriphyle covets (*Thebaid*, II. 298, Purg. XII. 51). See, generally, on Statius, Winthrop Wetherbee, *The Ancient Flame: Dante and the Poets* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), pp. 159–202.

[41] René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. by Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. by Leon Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

Greed and Gluttony

> Pity the world, or else this glutton be,
> To eat the world's due, by the grave and thee.

S o ends Shakespeare's first sonnet. Stephen Booth annotates: '*glutton* = a one-word emblem of one of the poem's paradoxes: gluttony suggests both selfish hoarding and extravagant waste'.[1] The couplet suggests that people can devour what is due to the world, as the grave — that hungry mouth — also eats what belongs to the world. Gluttony is of death, death working in a live person.[2]

With that idea, I begin Dante's treatment of gluttony. The angel's words at the beginning of *Purgatorio*, Canto XXII, link the cornices of avarice and gluttony; the desire for righteousness that he speaks of paraphrases Matthew 5. 6, as saying, 'Blessed are those that thirst after righteousness.' The cornice of gluttony adds the concept of hungering to that of thirsting, by speaking of what hunger is.

Dante, Statius, and Virgil have arrived on the cornice by line 115 of Canto XXII. The classical poets turn right and walk together with Dante behind them, until they arrive at a tree, whose shape is inverted, as if turning the carnival world of good living and good feeding upside down. Its leaves are watered by a spring from above, as if in contrast to it having roots. Virtue does not arise from roots. That idea was announced before (VII. 121), and the idea of the root was questioned on the previous cornice with Hugh Capet as the root of the Capetian monarchy. A root, who is himself punished in the circle of the avaricious, can only

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[1] Booth, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, p. 136.

[2] For the grave as that which is never satisfied, see Proverbs 30. 15, 16; it associates with the barren womb (place of both hunger in the medieval meaning of *womb* and of sexual craving).

produce a bad tree. The tree of Canto XXII has a voice speaks from it, saying, 'Di questo cibo avrete caro' (Of this food you shall have lack, l. 141). Examples follow:

> Più pensava Maria onde
> fosser le nozze orrevoli e intere,
> ch'a la sua bocca, ch'or per voi risponde.
>   E le Romane antiche, per lor bere,
> contente furon d'acqua; e Danïello
> dispregiò cibo e acquisitò savere.
>   Lo secol primo, quant' oro fu bello,
> fé savorose con fame le ghiande,
> e nettare con sete ogne ruscello.
>   Mele e locuste furon le vivande
> che nodriro il Batista nel diserto;
> per ch'elli è glorïoso e tanto grande
>   quando per lo Vangelio v'è aperto.
>   (XXII. 142–54)

(Mary thought more how the marriage could be honourable and complete than of her mouth, which now speaks for you. And the ancient Romans, for their drink, were content with water, and Daniel dispraised food and gained knowledge. The first age, when gold was beautiful, made savoury acorns with hunger, and every brook nectar with hunger. Honey and locusts were the food that nourished the Baptist in the desert, for which he is glorious and as great as is revealed for you in the Gospel.)

The examples derive from moments preceding the present age. The first two are women; their antitheses appear in Forese Donati's words about contemporary Florentine women (XXIII. 86–111). Mary recalls the beginning of miracles that Jesus did; the voice continues with the ancient Roman women's refusal of wine, and the Old Testament example of Daniel. The golden age as the first age follows, as a parallel to Eden, and is supplemented by John the Baptist, as a figure opening the New Testament. The dual aspect of gluttony, which associates it with what comes out of the mouth as much as what went in, is alluded to in Mary's voice which intercedes. The anonymous voice that speaks from the tree is equally significant, as the antithesis to that of the serpent which tempted Eve — gluttony characterizing Adam and Eve in taking the forbidden fruit, a sin expiated by the fasting of Christ in the wilderness. The repetition of the example of Mary from the cornice of envy (XIII. 28–30) associates envy and gluttony, the second and sixth vices, with each other.

Generosity or liberality (which is the obverse of avarice as well) associates with moderation in eating, with *misura* — remembering that those purged here have

followed 'la gola oltra misura' (XXIII. 65).[3] Temperance seems, here, a classical cardinal virtue. Gluttony seems, in reputation, more Medieval than modern. In Langland's scene of the sins all making their confession, Gluttony has come from the tavern.[4] In Shakespeare, *gluttony*, with all its cognates, appears only thirteen times, four associated with Falstaff. *Surfeit*, meaning 'excess' or 'superfluity', appears far more often, but its use is less specific, and connected with the abstract idea of excessive appetite showing itself within disease.[5] Perhaps there is a difference associated with the 'history of manners' discussed by Norbert Elias, such as the new use of the fork in the sixteenth century: Elias comments on 'the invisible wall of affects which seems [since the Middle Ages] to rise between one body and another, repelling and separating', so indicating that the growth of 'manners' meant a new sense of self as separate from the other.[6] Eating comes under new constraints, and is now associated with questions of shame and embarrassment. For Stephen Mennell, 'the break with medieval cookery which seems to have begun in the city-courts of Renaissance Italy [...] involved a shift in emphasis from quantitative display to qualitative elaboration'.[7] *Greedy*, which is an Old English word, means 'hungry' and was then used interchangeably with it. The abstract word *greed*, as a synonym for *avarice*, is early seventeenth-century in date: as greed moves from meaning something neutral (hungry) to something critical (wanting too much) it seems that a change has taken place in perceptions of food.

The intertwining of avarice and greed for food appears in these cantos, just as when Chaucer's Pardoner in *The Canterbury Tales* gives his tale in a manuscript fragment bound up with 'The Physician's Tale': the physician, in the *General Prologue* of *The Canterbury Tales* is clearly avaricious, with his love of gold.

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[3] *Gola* reappears at XXIV. 126. Latin *gula*, 'throat', leads to *gola*, 'greediness' or 'gluttony', and the word appears in that sense in *Inferno*, VI. 14, for Cerberus's three throats, and in VI. 53 where Ciacco speaks of his sin; elsewhere its meaning of 'throat' may add to the sense of hell as devouring (*Inf.*, XXIV. 123; cf. *Purg.*, XXI. 31). In *Para.*, III. 92, it has the more neutral sense of 'appetite'.

[4] For this, and discussion of Chaucer's Pardoner in relation to gluttony and avarice, see Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 386–406.

[5] For gluttony in the later Middle Ages, see R. F. Yeager, 'Aspects of Gluttony in Chaucer and Gower', *Studies in Philology*, 81 (1984), 42–55.

[6] Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, I: *The Civilizing Process*, trans. by Edmund Jepthcott (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 69. For critique of Elias, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Controlling Paradigms', in *Anger's Past*, ed. by Rosenwein, pp. 237–40.

[7] Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 33.

The Pardoner, in his confession, made prior to his tale, to all the company of pilgrims, makes himself a type of avarice, describing the sermon he preaches:

> But shortly myn entente I wol devyse:
> I preche of no thyng but for coveityse.
> Therefore my theme is yet, and evere was,
> *Radix malorum est Cupiditas.*
> Thus kan I preche agayn that same vice
> Which that I use, and that is avarice.
>
> (C, VI. 423–28)

In his tale, following, he begins with a young riotous company in Flanders, and it leads him in via comments on drunkenness to a sermon against gluttony ('O wombe! O bely! O stynkyng cod, | Fulfilled of dong and of corrupcioun', ll. 534–35), which produces lechery, and is succeeded by 'hasardrye' (l. 590) and 'sweryng' (l. 631). Going from avarice to gluttony suggests a relationship of similarity between the two. Yet in the discourse of *The Canterbury Tales* it is possible to distinguish attitudes. The Pardoner's sermon within his tale recalls, in its evocation of plenty, Chaucer's Franklin — 'It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke' (*General Prologue*, A, l. 345), as well as the Cook who is on the pilgrimage. But the presence of these figures suggests a newer discourse of attitudes to food and drink that do not borrow so much from the religious world, nor even from the idea of indulgence in eating at carnival, which has fasting as its concomitant.[8] Jill Mann, who points out that the satire on gluttony, which emphasizes its nauseous qualities, is traditional, sees Chaucer's Franklin as different, since he, who is associated with Epicurus and Saint Julian, is not the subject of criticism: something more secular seems to be associated with him.[9]

Lines from the Pardoner's sermon so hostile to all forms of gluttony come from Jerome's *Against Jovinian* and from Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humanae*, which Chaucer translated.[10] The language is full of a sense of corrup-

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[8] For the Franklin, see Frederick B. Jonassen, 'Carnival Food Imagery in Chaucer's Description of the Franklin', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 16 (1994), 99–117. He discusses the Carnival/Lent antithesis, as thirteenth century.

[9] Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: The Literature of Social Classes and the 'General Prologue' to 'The Canterbury Tales'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 152–59. Note Mann's discussion of gluttony as standard satire on monks (pp. 17–20) and friars (pp. 50–52), and her sense of the Cook (pp. 168–70).

[10] See Robert E. Lewis, *Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III): De miseria condicionis humanae* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978).

tion: gluttony is the body turning good things into waste, both faecally and through vomit:

> fouler is the dede
> Whan man so drynketh of thee white and rede
> That of his throte he maketh his pryvee
> Thurgh thilke cursed superfluitee.
>
> (ll. 525–28)

If avarice suggests the anal drive, then gluttony literalizes the fantasies that this arouses. 'The Pardoner's Tale' concludes with men poisoned. They have sought to kill death, and have been told they can find him beneath a tree. There they find gold, desire for which makes them murder each other. The tree recalls *Purgatorio*; it is the tree of life, the tree which turns to death, under the power of avarice, which seems, in Chaucer, to be the tree nurturing gluttony.

   The underlying conception in the words of the Pardoner is hatred of matter, and the body as matter. Putting the Pardoner, Jerome, and Innocent III together, there seems a firm relationship between avarice, of which gluttony as greed is a type, and lust, to which gluttony leads: warnings against fasting were so intense because a well-fed body was considered to possess sexual desires. There is indeed a stress on the sexual in *Purgatorio* XXIII and XIV, as will appear. But in addition, the seven *P*s which are on Dante's forehead, and which are associated with ash (IX. 109–16) evoke Ash Wednesday, as the beginning of *quadragesima*, the forty-day Lenten period, and hence the period of fasting, as established in the seventh century.[11] They recall that the patristic writers, who made Adam's sin gluttony, linked fasting with mourning, using the words interchangeably. Gluttony may, then, even be a refusal to mourn, perhaps for Adam's sin and Christ's death.[12] This would give the precedence, then, to melancholia, as a disavowed quality.

   If gluttony and lechery take place through bodily activity, both may be 'natural', in which they differ from avarice, which seems more motivated by that which is outside. Yet there is an aggression attached to eating, tearing into flesh with teeth, and also a complex question of what the relation of the self, defined as a body, is to the outside world. So perhaps though gluttony — stresses, or over-stressing the aggressiveness of that relationship — is not an affect, it has a passional state behind it. Discussing Rabelais, Bahktin says that:

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[11] For fasting, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 31–47.

[12] See Herbert Musurillo, 'The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers', *Traditio*, 12 (1956), 1–65, especially pp. 23, 24.

[E]ating and drinking are one of the most significant manifestations of the grotesque body. The distinctive character of this body is its open unfinished nature its interaction with the world. [...] [T]he body transgresses here its own limits: it swallows, devours, rends the world apart, is enriched and grows at the world's expense. [...] Here man tastes the world, introduces it into his body, makes it part of himself. [...] The limits between man and the world are erased, to man's advantage.[13]

This triumphalism is 'incorporation', a word at the heart of Freud, who in 1915 supplemented his earlier *Three Essays on Sexuality* with discussion of the oral, or 'cannibalistic' stage where 'sexual activity has not yet been separated from the ingestion of food; nor are opposite currents within that activity differentiated. The *object* of both activities is the same; the sexual *aim* consists in the *incorporation* of the object' — Freud calls this 'identification'. The anal phase which follows, Freud thinks of as sadistic and playing on a passivity within the body as well, which makes anality 'ambivalent' as a form of sexuality (*SE*, VII, 197–99, and 159). (In the oral stage, thumb-sucking, as a source of satisfaction, is auto-erotic, simultaneously active and passive.)

Considering this material requires a reminder of what was discussed in relation to anger: it associates aggression and consumption. In 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes' (1915), Freud speaks of '*incorporating* or *devouring* — a type of love which is consistent with abolishing the object's separate existence and which therefore may be described as ambivalent' — because it is both active and passive.[14] To incorporate, to devour, means annihilating the hated object by absorbing it: the same thing happens in love, which for Freud comes later, and makes the point that a loving reaction may be close to a hating one: this being the ambivalence in any relationship. Freud stresses throughout the degree of sadism that appears in relation to the outside world; similarly, Bahktin notes this in eating processes.[15]

[13] Mikhail Bahktin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 281.

[14] Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', *SE*, XIV, 138. See Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 227–34; Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[15] An equivalent point is noted by Derrida, who, discussing the dependency of Western cultures on sacrifice and incorporation, eating the other, speaks of 'carno-phallogocentrism'; see '"Eating Well", or the Calculation of the Subject', in *Points: Interviews, 1974–1994*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 280.

Another account by Freud of incorporation appears in 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917), already discussed. Incorporation is connected with introjection and with identification. In melancholia, an object has been lost, and the ego identifies with it, taking it in, so that 'an object-loss was transformed into an ego-loss, and the conflict between the ego and the loved person into a cleavage between the critical activity of the ego and the ego altered by identification' (*SE*, XIV, 249). What has been absorbed, on the pattern of the oral mode, becomes part of a split-off subject, and a source of melancholia. The ambivalence of relationship felt with the person becomes an ambivalence within the subject. Elsewhere, in 'Group Psychology', Freud writes that the cannibal 'only devours people of whom he is fond' (*SE*, XVIII, 105). Ingestion in the infant seems to be a desire, as Melanie Klein describes it, to take in the world, to make it one's own; it is a fantasy of completeness which is wholly centred on the self. Klein follows Freud's sense of ambivalence, but sees it not so much in relation to a movement between the active and passive as a dual response to the object-world. To quote from Meira Likierman on Klein, the infant, who sets a model for the adult in this,

> lives out ambivalence by undergoing powerful swings between hatred and love, sadistic attacks and acutely anxious states of primitive concern. 'We must not lose sight of the fact that sadistic impulses [...] are a most potent factor in the infant's conflicts arising at this stage'. To such sadism is added overwhelming greed. 'Greed [...] is felt to be uncontrollable and destructive and to endanger the loved external and internal objects.'[16]

This makes the greed within gluttony ambivalent: sadistic, devouring yet anxious to contain the loved object. Likierman sees Klein associate jealousy with greed, and contrast both with envy.[17] Perhaps jealousy is an aspect of the cornice of avarice. Whereas envy wishes to destroy, jealousy and greed want to hold the other in possession.

In contrast to such desire to consume, the anorexic points to a sense of emptiness, which Lacan makes intelligible by saying that an eating disorder such as anorexia nervosa may be a silent address to the idea that the breast from which the child was weaned was nothing. 'What the child [the anorexic] eats is the nothing.'[18] That devaluation of the breast makes food no more than an empty substitution for something that is nothing.

[16] Likierman, *Melanie Klein*, pp. 121–22, citing Klein's 'On Observing the Behaviour of Young Infants'.

[17] Likierman, *Melanie Klein*, p. 176.

[18] Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts*, p. 104.

In linking the greed of eating with ambivalence, Klein connects it with a melancholia founded on the ambivalence with which the internalized object is regarded. Perhaps that associates, in the medieval period, with overeating as a disavowal of death, fear of starvation, which is how Herman Pleij reads it in his discussions of the dreams of Cockaigne.[19] Certainly, the melancholy of gluttony appears in *Inferno* VI: with 'trista' (l. 55), may be compared 'trista squama' in *Purgatorio*, XXIII. 39. Cerberus was the jailer of that part of hell, where rain, hail, foul water, and snow pour down on stinking ground: he grabs the spirits and 'isquatra' (quarters them, VI. 18). Universal aggression, part of gluttony, is apparent: Ciacco (= hog), discussed before, speaks of his body as broken *(fiacco)* by the rain (l. 54). The poets walk over the bodies of the dead gluttons, and Ciacco sits up, recognizing Dante, though unrecognized by him. Condemned for 'la dannosa colpa de la gola' (the ruinous fault of gluttony, VI. 53), he speaks of what will happen in Florence, the city 'ch' è piena | d'invidia sì che già trabocca il sacco' (VI. 49–50). The language of gluttony describes envy, which seems to be the affect that lurks behind any other state. Dante presses Ciacco to speak about what will happen to Florence. He replies that the citizens will come to blood, alluding to the riot that broke out between the Vieri de' Cerchi and the Corso Donati families on 1 May 1300 over the death of a Cerchi woman married to a Donati. Corso Donati had been exiled in 1299 for corruption and had taken refuge with the Papacy. Ciacco says that the Bianchi (the 'parte selvaggia', the Cerchi) will drive out the Neri (the Donati) from the city, as happened in June 1301. The Ghibellines sided with the Cerchi. The Donati bankrolled the Papacy and Charles of Anjou, conquering southern Italy and Sicily.

The meaning of this alliance of envy and gluttony is developed when Ciacco says that the Neri will then drive out the Bianchi through the power of one who is now tacking, or temporizing ('testè piaggia'). Singleton takes this to mean Boniface; George Holmes thinks it is Charles de Valois, whom Boniface had been trying since 1298 to bring to Italy.[20] Charles de Valois openly supported the Neri, and entered Florence on 1 November 1301, with Corso Donati soon after him. At that stage, Dante was in Rome, and his exile was announced to him as he journeyed back towards Florence in early 1302. The following pope, Benedict XI,

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[19] Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. by Diane Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 129, 162.

[20] Holmes, 'Dante and the Popes', p. 27. On the Donati, see Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory*, pp. 14–16. A Donati is amongst the thieves (*Inf.*, XXV. 43); for Piccarda, see *Para.*, III. The Cerchi are discussed in *Para.*, XVI. 65, 94–95.

not alluded to in the *Commedia*, attempted to reverse Boniface's policies and to get the exiled Bianchi Guelfs returned to Florence: his peacemaker was Cardinal Nicholas of Prato, to whom Dante wrote Epistle I. But Ciacco despairs of Florence, and adds, to the presence of envy in it, pride and avarice. Gluttony seems to be a concomitant of avarice: and all of them together seem new, urban affects. Ciacco stops speaking, which is a gesture he repeats three times: in lines 57, 76, and now again:

> Li diritti occhi torse allora in biechi;
> guardommi un poco e poi chinò la testa:
> cadde con essa a par di li altri ciechi.
>
> <div align="right">(VI. 91–93)</div>

(His straight eyes he then turned asquint, looked at me for a little and then lowered his head, and fell to be with the other blind ones.)

Envy and silence pair. The politics of this comes back in *Purgatorio* XXIII and XXIV, in relation to Forese Donati (Corso Donati's brother); he, like Ciacco, can only be recognized by his voice.

Dante and Virgil walk away to encounter, at the end of *Inferno* VI, Plutus, the great enemy. The canto moves from gluttony to avarice. Envy and avarice have already been noted to be forms of blindness, and now the same applies to gluttony. In *Inferno* VI, failure of sight and insight relates to a dullness associated with satiation. It contrasts with the 'vita serena' of VI. 51, and is apparent in the rainfall and lack of colour in the canto. A similar point about the eyes appears with the gluttonous in *Purgatorio* — have they eyes or not? That they have, is not at first apparent.

Famine

The opening words of *Purgatorio* XXIII have Dante fixing his eyes on the tree, as if to discern its fruit. The lines, implying delay, show how easily time can be lost (an emphasis repeated by Forese Donati in XXIV. 91–93). At that point are heard tears and singing, giving birth in the listener to joy and grief, brought about by the singing of the penitential psalm *Labïa mëa, Domine* (O Lord, open thou my lips [...], an alternative use for the mouth). The release of affect is crucial, in contrast to the dull melancholy associated with the gluttonous in hell. The souls of the gluttonous come into view:

> Ne li occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,
> palida ne la faccia, e tanto scema
> che da l'ossa la pelle s'informava.
>   Non credo che così a buccia strema
> Erisittone fosse fatto secco,
> per digiunar, quando più n'ebbe tema.
>   Io dicea fra me stesso pensando: 'Ecco
> la gente che perdé Ierusalemme,
> quando Maria nel figlio diè di becco!'
>   Parean l'occhiaie anella sanza gemme:
> chi nel viso de li uomini legge 'omo'
> ben avria quivi conosciuta l'emme.
>   Chi crederebbe che l'odor d'un pomo
> sì governasse, generando brama,
> e quel d'un' acqua, non sappiendo como.
>   (XXIII. 22–36)

(In their eyes, everyone was obscure and hollow, pallid in the face and so wasted that the skin took form from the bones. I do not believe that Erysichthon was made so dry to the extreme parings by hunger, when he had most fear of that. I said to myself, thinking, 'Look at the people who lost Jerusalem, when Mary gave the beak to her child.' Their eyesockets seemed rings without gems: he who reads OMO in the face of humans easily could have recognized the M. Who, not knowing how, would have believed that the smell of an apple and of water could have thus controlled, generating desire.)

The two literary illusions, pagan and quasi-biblical, provide much of the description. Erysichthon appears in *Metamorphoses*, VIII. 738–878, described as violating a grove sacred to Ceres, and cutting down a huge sacred oak, which bleeds as it is cut, in a mode which is evoked in *Inferno*, XIII. 40–45. From the tree comes a voice, that of a nymph dear to Ceres, promising him punishment.[21] The tree and the voice have already appeared in Canto XXIII; Ceres's punishment follows when she sends a mountain deity to Famine, who appears as a personification, as 'digiunar' is a personification in XXIII. 27. Ceres and Famine cannot meet; there must be an intermediary between them, but however strange the idea of Ceres requiring something from Famine, it seems appropriate too, as though Famine

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[21] See William A. Stephany, 'Erysichthon and the Poetics of the Spirit', in *The Poetry of Allusion: Virgil and Ovid in Dante's 'Commedia'*, ed. by Rachel Jacoff and Jeffrey T. Schnapp (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 173–80, and R. A. Shoaf, 'Ugolino and Erysichthon', in *Dante and Ovid*, ed. by Sowell, pp. 51–64.

was more of a primary figure, and absence and hollowness preceded what Ceres represented. The description of Famine is evoked in the picture of the troop of spirits coming towards Dante; she enters the body of Erysichthon and causes in him an immense hunger that increases the more he consumes. He is consumed as he consumes; he sells his daughter, whose metamorphoses are basic to the telling of this narrative (selling the daughter was seen in the cornice of the avaricious, in Canto, lines XX. 79–84). At the end, the man, by consuming his own body, feeds himself. The cornice of the lustful shows the power of fire which normally consumes, but which there, purifies; there is something more violent here, which becomes more evident with the second illustration.

In this incident, whose historical moment was prepared for in Canto XXI, lines 81–84, it is not a daughter who is sold but a son who is eaten by a starving woman turned vulture, in a metaphorical metamorphosis. Herman Pleij illuminates this illustration, first by drawing attention to famine in Northern Europe between 1315 and 1317, which involved stories of parents eating their children, and second by showing how much the siege of Jerusalem became a topos for characterizing hunger and famine.[22] The example in *Purgatorio* is both topical and historical, and reflective of a fascination with consumption of the other, in the gluttonous state, as a mirror-image of consumption of the other while starving. Since when Dante sees gluttons, he sees figures of starvation, is this saying that gluttony exemplifies a starved state of the psyche, a sense of absence, or of nothingness in the subject? Or that it repeats the mental derangements associated with starvation? Since these figures of starvation emerge as very near to the condition of people in the Golden Age, when hunger was so strong that acorns were *savorose*, it seems that Dante makes hunger a normative state, and gluttony a deviation from that. If 'hunger' is read in psychoanalytic terms as what Lacan calls 'desire', does gluttony attempt to deny that the self is in the state of desire?

If hunger is normative, that associates with the point that none of the other vices purged on the mountain make such allusions to the body as this one. The souls are as though 'rimorte' (XXIV. 4) — doubly dead, their bodies indicating death in life. The mark on their face (*viso*) that equates man with hollowness (because of the double *o*) is pronounced, giving the sense of a death's head (suggested in the phrases 'profonda della testa' (XXIII. 40) and 'le fosse delli occhi' (XXIV. 5). The eyeholes seem to be without eyes, in an Oedipal image with implications of death as castration. The passage emphasizes the destruction not just of the flesh, but of the skin ('trista squama', 'asciutta scabbia | che mi scolora [...]

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[22] Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne*, pp. 107–11; pp. 100–06 for the famine.

la pelle', ll. 39, 49–50). The souls are said to be stripped ('sfoglia', l. 58). The 'faccia' of Forese, which makes Dante stare, is emphasized in line 48, and again, by Dante, in line 55, where its disfiguration ('sì torta', l. 57) is stressed. Torture is recalled when Forese says that they are led to the tree where Christ cried 'Eli' (ll. 73–75) — Christ in the ultimate moment, just before death. The sufferings of Christ, as if paying for others' gluttony, are recalled at lines 85–86: 'a ber lo dolce assenzo de' martiri' (to drink the sweet wormwood of the torments). In Canto XXIV, line 17, the features are so wrung (*munta*, 'milked dry') by the diet, that they must be named, because they could not be recognized. The physicality of the torture is emphasized in the Pope, whose features are 'trapunta' (drawn, XXIV. 21). Canto XXIV, lines 28–29 — 'Vidi per fame a vòto usar li denti | Ubaldin da la Pila' (I saw Ubaldino da la Pila use his teeth for hunger on the emptiness) — brings out both a violence in eating (the teeth) and the significance of the hollowness: it is death, and it is inner emptiness, and the visible lack of food. Bonagiunta is said to be 'pilucca' (plucked), a word which rhymes with his title, and suggests that the punishment, which pulls at his body, is appropriate to him.

This de-structuring, morcellating of the body, emptying it, associates with the description of Famine in Ovid, who is seen plucking with nails and teeth at the vegetation of a stony field:

> hirtus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,
> labra incana situ, scabrae rubigine fauces,
> dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent;
> ossa sub incurvis exstabant arida lumbis,
> ventris erat pro ventre locus; pendere putares
> pectus et a spinae tantummodo crate teneri.
> auxerat articulos macies, genuumque tumebat
> orbis, et inmodico prodibant tubere tali.

(Her hair hung in matted locks, her eyes were sunken, her face ghastly pale; her lips were wan and foul, her throat rough with scurf; her skin was hard and dry so that the entrails could be seen through it; her skinny hip-bones bulged out beneath her hollow loins, and her belly was but a belly's place; her breast seemed to be hanging free and just to be held by the framework of the spine; her thinness made her joints seem large, her knees were swollen, and her ankles were great bulging lumps.)[23]

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[23] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Frank Justis Miller, rev. by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), VIII. 801–08, pp. 460–63.

It is the image of a body that hardly hangs, or holds together, comprising gaps and absences and emptinesses never to be filled, where the skeletal bits protruding enforce the lack of anything upon the bone. Dante works with this image, so that his gluttony varies from other Medieval images of it, in not being a portrayal of obesity, but the opposite. There could be no question, on this cornice, of including the opposite of gluttony, for to say that gluttony equals famine because famine activates it, and is its secret truth, is different again from any of the other sins: pride is not motivated by envy, but is its clear opposite; envy does not come out of something else, except perhaps melancholia, which also subtends anger, and *acedia*, and if hunger underpins avarice, that is only what the avaricious would acknowledge about themselves. Here, however, gluttony is hunger (Latin, *fames* = hunger) which disavows itself by consumption, hides its absence. Here the difference from lust emerges. Lust consumes as it consummates, consuming both itself and the other, but hunger consumes all things but never in such a way that it annihilates itself. Erysichthon ends by eating himself, but hunger remains.

Examples of Gluttony

The first, and the framing speaker to Dante on this cornice, is Forese Donati, who died in 1296, just after his father, Simone Donati, and the author of poems written in a *tenzone* with Dante.[24] Forese alludes to his sister Piccarda (XXIV. 10–15) and to his brother, Corso, in Canto XXIV, lines 82–90. The latter, like Philip the Fair — both men died on account of animals — is unnamed in the *Commedia*. (It seems from the *tenzone*, no. 74, line 12, that Corso could also be accused of gluttony.)[25] Forese asks Dante of himself in lines 52–54, but his desire is unsatisfied, for Dante questions him about his punishment, and Forese must answer (ll. 61–75) and this response does not satisfy Dante, who returns with more questioning, which Forese responds to in lines 85–114, deviating onto the sins of the women of Florence, before Forese's original question is resumed. Something of the spirit of a *tenzone* persists, with a mutual intensity in the questioning,

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[24] Foster and Boyde, *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, nos 72–74; see commentary, II, 242–53; they connect the poems with Dante's entry into politics, reading Canto XXIII as a palinode for the *tenzone*. The accusation of gluttony in no. 73, loosely recalled in the idea of the gluttons loosening the knot of gluttony in XXIII. 15, recalls the general carnival of the *tenzone*. Note Barolini, *Dante's Poets*, pp. 42–57.

[25] For Corso Donati's death, see Ferrante, *Political Vision*, pp. 240–41, discussing gluttony (pp. 239–43).

and even an unconscious cruelty in the demand that Dante imposes: a mental gluttony perhaps. Dante replies to Forese in lines that conclude Canto XXIII, culminating in giving Statius's identity. He continues at line 7 of Canto XXIV, explaining why Statius seems to be not going straight up the mountain, but lingers with Virgil. The pattern is of Dante interrogating Forese, and Statius, Virgil, and the other spirits listening intently to Dante and Forese (XXIV. 4–6). These forms of intensity are new — there was nothing comparable on the cornice of the avaricious, who want to possess what is outside — but these souls are curious, desiring to internalize what they hear. The only person who seems eventually content, satisfied, with what he hears, after questioning, is Bonagiunta (XXIV. 63). The intensity seems to be evoked in the way that the Cantos XXIII and XXIV are bound together, so that Canto XXIV's opening makes no sense when read independently of what has gone before.

Dante's passing of information to Forese extends to Canto XXIV, lines 7–9, but then he further questions Forese, who must respond (ll. 13–25). After the parenthesis, when Dante speaks to Bonagiunta and defines the *dolce stil novo*, there is a return to Forese, who asks when he will see Dante again — confirming Dante as in some sense a glutton. Dante comments on Florence, 'di giorno in giorno piú di ben si spolpa' (from day to day more impoverished of good, XXIV. 80). The city mirrors the lean, stripped bodies of the gluttonous: their bodies evoke what the state of gluttony means: Florence seems given over to it. Forese's account of his brother concludes his dialogue, and he disappears after line 93, leaving Dante as, perhaps, the one who has accumulated more than Forese has from the encounter.

What of the names of the gluttons that Forese gives, pointing with his finger (XXIII. 121, XXIV. 19, compare XXVI. 115–16)? The first, repeated, is Bonagiunta Orbicciani da Lucca, notary and poet. In XXIV. 20–24 appears the unnamed French pope, Simon de Brie, Martin IV (1280–85):

> e quella faccia
> di là da lui più che l'altre trapunta
>   ebbe la Santa Chiesa in le sue braccia:
> dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno
> l'anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia.

(and that face over there of him that more than the others is drawn together, had holy church in his arms: he came from Tours, and fasts to purge the eels of Bolsena and Vernaccia wine.)[26]

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[26] This Pope sent a French army against Forlì and Guido de Montefeltro (*Inf.*, XXVII. 43–45); see George Holmes, *Florence, Rome, and the Origins of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 30.

Others follow: Ubaldino da la Pila († 1291), from a Ghibelline family, brother of the Cardinal of *Inferno*, X. 120, who is Ottaviano degli Ubaldini († 1273), and, from his placing in hell, an Epicurean. Ubaldino was also father of the Ruggieri of *Inferno* XXXIII, who died four years after his father, and whose treachery involved starving Ugolino and his sons to death: if the father was a glutton, the son withheld food. Ubaldino was a cousin of Ugolin d'Azzo, mentioned in *Purgatorio*, XIV. 105, who was himself related by marriage to Provenzan Salvani: the Ghibelline ties connect pride and gluttony in antithesis to envy. Next comes an archbishop of Ravenna, Bonifazio de' Fieschi of Genoa, and it is said of him, 'che pasturò col rocco molte genti' (who pastured [a Dantean coinage] many people with his rook-like staff, [its shape, as in a chess-piece, identifies this Boniface as of Ravenna], XXIV. 30). An over-broad display of hospitality to a particular coterie may be implied, while the crozier's shape indicates, perhaps, the ultimate in exquisite good taste. Last comes Marchese degli Argogliosi of Forlì, *podestà* of Faenza in 1296, 'ch'ebbe spazio | già di bere a Forlì con men secchezza, | e sí fu tal, che non si sentí sazio' (who had space before to drink at Forlì, with less dryness, and was such, that he never felt satisfied, ll. 31– 33). The order runs: a poet, a pope, a Ghibelline ruler, a bishop, and a *podestà*. Dante has no interest in gluttony as something bourgeois, or popular — or carnivalesque. The sinners are gourmands who prided themselves on their taste, and on the quality of their food: their appetite is to excess partly because of the kinds of food they require.

Bonagiunta da Lucca murmurs 'Gentucca' in response to the justice which 'li pilucca' (plucks them — like pulling grapes off a vine). The name seems to be that of a woman who will make her city, in antithesis to Florence, pleasing to Dante. Bonagiunta asks if it was Dante who brought forth 'le nove rime', beginning 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' (Ladies who have intelligence in love, *Vita nuova*, 19. 1–2), to which Dante replies as one of several 'che, quando | Amor mi spira, noto, e a quel modo | ch'e ditta dentro vo significando' (who, when Love breathes in me, note it, and in that manner which he speaks within, go signifying, XXIV. 52–54).[27] His reply implies diffidence, since he has had to associate himself with Forese in a way which mentally strips him down in the way that Forese is so stripped (XXIII. 115–17). Yet Bonagiunta, the figure of greed, generously recites the incipit of Dante's canzone, as if entering into dialogism, and whereas Dante

[27] On the relevance to gluttony, see Richard Abrams, 'Inspiration and Gluttony: The Moral Context of Dante's Poetics of the "Sweet New Style"', *Modern Language Notes*, 91 (1976), 30–59. Amongst discussions of the passage, see Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 197–210; Barolini, *Dante's Poets*, pp. 85–90.

speaks of himself in the singular, he puts him into a group which he names, so that the naming comes from the other: 'il dolce stil novo'.

In Dante's reply to Bonagiunta, Amor is another personification, alongside 'digiunar' in XXXIII. 27, and Dante's passage recalls Ovid's account of Erysichthon again and Famine coming through the air on the wings of the wind and entering him while he sleeps:

> (noctis enim tempus) geminis amplectitur ulnis,
> seque viro inspirat, faucesque et pectus et ora
> adflat et in vacuis spargit ieiunia venis;
>
> > (*Met.*, VIII. 818–20)

((it was night); there she wrapped her skinny arms about him and filled him with herself, breathing upon his throat and breast and lips, and in his hollow veins she planted hunger.)

This is a form of anthropophagia, whereby the King takes in Famine, and she feeds herself to him, so that she is inside him, and it is also metamorphosis, whereby Erysichthon and Famine become identical. It begins when she breathes upon him, in the same way as Dante describes in 'Amor mi spira' — where love is both inside and outside the lover, breathing in and breathing out, the lover identified with love. In which case, 'vo significando' contains within it the sense of the self as text, as OMO is marked on the gluttonous, as the expression of what they are, the self marked by death. Bonagiunta accepts the comment, and before associating with its implied criticism Jacopo da Lentini and Guittone d'Arezzo, as if putting them also amongst the gluttonous, supplements Dante's point: 'le vostre penne | di retro al dittator sen vanno strette' (your pens followed straight behind the one who dictated, ll. 58, 59). Guittone wrote in the 1250s, and composed a lament for Florence after the Battle of Montaperti in 1260. In the 1260s, he went into voluntary exile from Arezzo, turned against his sonnets, his *rime d'amore*, and his *tenzoni*, and joined the Guadenti around 1265. Moral and religious poems then followed.[28] Bonagiunta's comment implies that he and they wrote as claiming independence: they denied, in their poetry, the power of absence, of empty veins within them; they wrote as if they had their own fullness, which is what the glutton also claims, denying the absence which is so emphasized in his image. Dante's last sight of Forese emphasizes how his eyes follow him, as much as his mind is following his words (XXIV. 101–02), like following Amor as the 'dittator'.

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[28] For commentary, see Vincent Moleta, *The Early Poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo* (London: Modern Humanities Research Foundation, 1976).

At the culmination of the passage along the cornice, Dante is arrested by a voice; the third, after the voices speaking from the two trees. It is the angel's, whose sight blinds Dante, so that he must follow Virgil and Statius 'com' om che va secondo ch'elli ascolta' (XXIV. 144). It is the pattern that he described to Bonagiunta: he hears, and he follows: hearing being placed above seeing. The following *terzina*, where he is blinded, describes a May breeze. The renewal, which includes 'd'ambrosïa l'orezza' — the breath of ambrosia (l. 150) brings about a new hearing:

> Beati cui alluma
> tanto di grazia, che l'amor del gusto
> nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma
> esurïendo sempre quanto è giusto!
>   (ll. 151–54)

(Blessed are those so illumined by grace, that the love of taste in their breast does not kindle too much desire, hungering as much as is right [*or*, hungering after that which is just].)

The angel focuses on 'l'amor del gusto' — the love of taste, as that which excites too much desire, and the words appear in a context which imply the pregnancy of the air and what can be savoured. It recalls Forese saying that he has followed 'la gola oltra misura' (XXIII. 65) — the modern poet succeeding Statius's 'dismisura' (XXII. 35) — and while it seems to bless, at the same time its focus on 'troppo disir' emphasizes that this lack of measure is still a fear, and the one which these cantos have tried to resolve by utter abstinence, while knowing that this is impossible: the other vices can be eliminated completely, perhaps, but eating cannot be.

Gluttony and Sexual Desire

The episode of the gluttonous comes towards an end with the sight of the other tree, which seems to invite attention, the voice from the tree turning them away, treating them like children, in a mode which makes a further mockery of appetite, and bidding them go onward in fasting mood. The tree is said to be a shoot from the tree that was eaten by Eve, which is higher up. The voice follows with warnings, full of contrasted experiences:

> 'Ricordivi', dicea, 'd'i maladetti
> nei nuvoli formati, che, satolli,
> Tesëo combatter co' doppi petti.

> e de li Ebrei ch'al ber si mostrar molli,
> per che no i volle Gedeon compagni,
> quando inver' Madïan discese i colli.'
>   Sì accostati a l'un d'i due vivagni,
> passamo, udendo colpe de la gola
> seguite già da miseri guadagni.
>
>   (XXIV. 121–29)

('Remember', he said, 'the evil ones who were formed in the clouds, who, inebriated, combatted Theseus with their double breasts, and the Hebrews who at the drinking showed themselves soft, for which Gideon would not have them accompany him when he came down the hills towards Midian.' So, keeping to one side of the two edges, we passed, hearing sins of gluttony, followed once by miserable gains.)

These complex, brief examples contrast Theseus and Gideon, and active malice which joins gluttony with quasi-incestuous lust, with something opposite: an unmalicious but impossible softness. There is no difference between the Centaurs' drunkenness and the men who took drinking-water in a fastidiousness manner. (They recall the water-drinking of XXII. 145–50, but with added associations now.) The Centaurs' animality recalls the beast — the horse, which, as described, is half real, half metaphorical — that drags Corso Donati to his death. Corso's body is left vilely 'disfatto' (l. 87), as bodies are unmade in this canto. The Centaurs were offspring of Ixion, King of the Lapithae, and of Nephele (the 'cloud'); perhaps Ixion fathered the Centaurs via Juno who had taken the form of a cloud. Derived from both clouds and the body, the Centaurs represent something inadequately material, but their being overstresses the material: they are monstrous bodies, human/animal.[29] They were invited to the wedding of Pirithoüs (again, the son of Ixion) and Hippodamia: the wedding contrasts with the one Mary attended in the first example. The narrative of the war between the Centaurs (the Lapithae) and the other wedding guests begins when one of the Centaurs, Eurytus, became drunk and attempted raping the bride. The episode is narrated in *Metamorphoses*, XII. 210–536, as an account of violence and the mangling and tearing apart of bodies. And the bodies of the Centaurs, their ambiguity of identity not only obvious in their appearance, is pointed to in 'doppi petti' — which perhaps even makes them male and female together. They end with their bodies fearfully destroyed.

[29] For discussion of centaurs, see my 'Monstrous Tyranny, Men of Blood: Dante and *Inferno* XII', *Modern Language Review*, 98 (2003), 881–97, and references there.

The other figures will not risk their bodies in the way they drink water: their refusal to use their tongues to lap like dogs refuses the animality overstressed with the Centaurs; hence these Hebrews are not allowed to risk their bodies further in battle: they are cut off from heroism (the episode recalls the example given of the slothful, XVIII. 133–35). There seems a carelessness about the body, which allows it to be morcellated, and a prudishness guarding it excessively. One produces a mad heroism that anticipates the lust which will be spoken of in the example of Pasiphae on the cornice of lust (XXVI. 86–87). The other produces nothing, making the body, actually, useless. These examples of gluttony end with, not overeating, or overdrinking, but a relation to sustenance that denies its role in relation to other human activities. The Hebrews end as non-human as the Centaurs are, in an opposite manner. Perhaps they may be thought of as feminized, in contrast to the over-masculinity of the Centaurs.

That suggests the relevance of seeing how hunger, as an affective state, is gendered. Of the vices, gluttony is the only one absolutely in and of the body, which is the place of meeting between the self and the world, so that an affective relationship to the world impacts directly on it. The gluttonous are those whose relationship is adversarial, aggressive, requiring self-assertion; or they are defensive, requiring food to hide the body from the world. Dante focuses this through women and women's bodies. There were no female penitents for pride — though envy contained a woman, Sapia — nor female figures of anger, or sloth, or avarice, apart from the figures in the examples. There are no female gluttons, nor will there be female figures of lust. But to list the women in the sixth cornice allows neither gluttony nor its opposite, temperance, to be male-centred:

1.   Mary, in the first example of the virtue of temperance

2.   The Roman women, the second example (Canto XXII)

3.   In the story of Erysichthon, Famine is female

4.   The Mary who ate her son, who is drawn, by a kind of *entrelacement* into the presentation of the gluttons approaching Dante

5.   Forese's widow, Nella, a relation of Dante's wife, Gemma

6.   The women of the Barbagia in Sardinia, supposedly Sarasenic, and the women of the metaphorical Barbagia (Florence)

7.   Piccarda, Forese's sister (Canto XXIV)

8.   Gentucca, perhaps the woman who does not yet wear the wedding veil, and who will make Lucca pleasing to Dante

9. The 'donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore'
10. Eve (Canto XXIV, line 116) — the prime example of gluttony
11. The presence of the woman at the marriage feast whom the Centaurs tried to rape

With the exception of Eve, and the Florentine women, women here are idealized, and seen in kinship relationships, such as those of marriage, wherein they fit 'properly'. To take the modern instance of the women of Florence: it is easy to think of this passage as an instance of a certain Dantean prudery, reacting against the fashions of city culture, but if so, it may not be appropriate to associate it in whole with Dante, but as relating to something within both Forese and the Dante who wrote the *tenzone* with him. The aggression towards the women that the speech indicates, like the aggression in the earlier poems, may correspond to the devouring aspects associated with gluttony. Forese is still in process of change.

The women whose attention to fashion entails a display of their nipples, which also show the source of food for their infants (the moment distantly recalls, for contrast, the woman who ate her son) anticipate the double-breasted Centaurs, whose self-display represents a stage prior to the civilization which, by attending the wedding, they are invited to mark. The women show a tendency which seems modern, towards total showing, the state of total display. Roland Barthes asks: '[I]s not the most erotic portion of a body where the garment gapes? [...] [I]t is intemittence which is erotic: the intermittence of skin flashing between two articles of clothing [...] between two edges [...]. [I]t is the flash itself which seduces, or rather: The staging of an appearance-as-disappearance.'[30] If what is erotic is not display but partial concealment, the women are not erotic. The passage criticizes an excess within civilization, as that has moved from the Centaurs to the Sardinian women to these Florentine women, in a quest for further display. It is part of a culture — a glut — of looking which has already been commented on, and which relates to many of the vices: the gluttonous, it will be remembered, seem not to have eyes. In her study of various forms of eating disorder, and stressing phrases used in present-day vocabulary, such as an attractive woman being 'appetizing', Maud Ellmann stresses what she calls 'the anthropophagous foundations of the drive to see'.[31] The women so un/dressed, are to

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[30] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. by R. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 9–10.

[31] Maud Ellmann, *The Hunger Artists: Starving, Writing and Imprisonment* (London: Virago, 1993), pp. 40–41.

look appetizing, to be consumed by male tastes. The food turns to excess, as following Barthes, the display becomes overmuch. If the woman's dress signifies her desire to be eaten, in a sexuality which is the subject of the seventh cornice, she has also become a victim of an excess which produces the gluttonous spirit. Here, then, the contrast is with the figure of Famine, which Ovid genders as female, putting her into contrast with the fertile mother, Ceres. The description of Famine, quoted above, noted that her breast seemed 'hanging free', just held by the framework of the spine. The belly, which includes the womb, is an empty space.[32]

If, as Maud Ellmann suggests, hunger and seeing it 'deranges the distinction between self and other' and 'overrides the bounds of subjectivity',[33] then its spectacle in the woman who is and who is not the mother is doubly significant, the mother being she from whom there must be weaning to constitute both the self and other, while remaining the image of what sustains that self. Erysichthon with Famine inside him becomes feminine: gender and identity alike are deranged. His self-eating shows a movement in gluttony towards an annihilation of the other, fulfilled only in annihilation of the self. Aggression turns upon the self, assuming that it was ever only elsewhere. Famine as hungry mother raises those fears Dante alluded to in pairing Erysichthon with Maria: that the mother will become harpy-like, devouring the son. Perceiving the mother as embodying hunger gives the self the sense of the nothingness of the outside world, which can only dissolve the boundaries between self and other. Famine as the woman frames the presentation of the modern women of Florence, because, while these look like a contrast, seeming to present an independent subjectivity that will hardly accept what they are told from the pulpit, they are not so; they have been produced by a discourse that promotes the body as complete, well-fed, on display, without any sense of inadequacy, or of the bodies tortured, plucked, and peeled. Such fantasies of the complete body contrast with the incomplete and monstrous carnival body, the expression of gluttony that Dante does not use, and with the emaciated cadaver, the figure of Famine, which he does. The sense of these women, suggesting the existence of a culture of consumption, to offset the fear of the morcellated body of hunger, poses problems at the heart of gluttony: do these women love their bodies narcissistically that they so present themselves, or is there a self-hatred in the display? Either position is possible; the difficulty of deciding between them

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[32] The point is noted in Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 1, 2.

[33] Ellmann, *Hunger Artists*, p. 54.

points to ambivalence, hatred, and love, activity and passivity in how the subject views herself. It produces both the complete body, or its unconscious twin, the famished.

'Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito'

The cornice of lust in *Purgatorio* is reached in Canto XXV at line 109, and comes to an end at the beginning of Canto XXVII. The souls of the lustful sing within the flames *Summae Deus clementiae* — God of supreme clemency; from a hymn sung at Matins on a Saturday. It is sung inside the 'grande ardore': *ardere* means 'to burn'; it is as if this cornice were a burning heart, in which souls exist, as though the fire of love surrounded and created the soul in love, who now burns towards God. The souls are then seen, and as they cease the verses, they cry loudly *Virum non cognosco*, from the words of the Annunciation (Luke 1. 34), before returning to soft singing of the hymn. The classical example comes from Ovid, poet of love, in *Metamorphoses*, II. 401–530. It is the story of the nymph Callisto, seduced by Jupiter in the form of Diana, goddess of chastity, when he is set on fire by the sight of her (*Met.*, II. 410). Her sense of shame follows, expressed in blushes (II. 450, 459), and is evident to all; at last, her pregnancy is revealed, as an outward sign of what has happened to her, and Diana demands that she should not 'pollute' the sacred pool in which she was about to bathe. Juno turns her into a bear, and she and her son, Arcas, then become stars, a detail recalled in *Paradiso*, XXXI. 31–33. She is said to have felt the poison of Venus, as if Venus controls Jupiter. Venus is placed in opposition to Diana, who is being celebrated in this example: Callisto's seduction contrasts with Mary's impregnation by the Holy Spirit.[1] The example of Callisto implies the motif of shame which is pursued in relation to males, as here in relation to women, in Canto XXVI, line 81 ('vergognando' and the much colder, and biblical word, 'obbrobrio', XXVI. 85). The penitents in the fire then return to give examples (not named) of wives and husbands who were chaste, as virtue and

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[1] For the power of Venus, see my 'Violence of Venus'.

marriage demanded. In the examples of Mary and Callisto (Elice), the occlusion of Jupiter and the addition of Venus focuses attention on women (as *Inferno* V did).

In *Inferno* XXVI, Dante gives full scope to the language of the rebellious and persuasive Ulysses. That canto pairs with *Purgatorio* XXVI, whose subject is lust and poetry. As Ulysses refers to his mad flight, so the poet Arnaut Daniel (1140–*c.* 1190) looks back on his past folly, or madness ('passada folor', *Purg.*, XXVI. 143). The other poet is Guido Guinizzelli (*c.* 1230–*c.* 1265), whose impact on Dante's poetry — the 'dolce stil nuovo' — is the subject matter of the *Vita nuova*, and its axial Chapter 19 with the canzone 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' (Ladies, who have intelligence in love', quoted in *Purg.*, XXIV. 51). But it is Guinizzelli's poetry that Francesca quotes in *Inferno*, V. 100, justifying her adultery. The issues she raises return in later meditations on poetry, and love. The self-description of Arnaut, 'Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor e vau cantan' (l. 142) is near the language of Francesca in *Inferno*, V. 126. If the sexual cannot be moved from, that is affirmed by the reappearance of the sodomites (from *Inf.*, ll. 15 and 16). They suggest the necessity for 'perversion' — that this may be the 'other' that is necessary for writing. Though the text moves towards greater correctness, it cannot silence the sense of that otherness.[2]

Julia Kristeva on 'abjection' as an affect is concerned with how much, to become a unified subject, the self must discard, as worthless, to be thrown away. In Dante, confrontation with various sinners keeps at bay the heterogeneous, the other, that which may be the self's own abject. Encouragement to take the text as the record of a self not radically self-divided comes from the beginning, where Dante says 'mi ritrovai' (*Inf.*, I. 2), as if he has, definitively, 'found himself', even if remains 'wounded in the power of his will' (Singleton's gloss of *Inf.*, I.30).[3] Abjection means the violent negation of otherness in what is sloughed off to become the unified self, but what is abject is also the source of desire, of constant recall, even of joy, *jouissance*. In *Purgatorio* XXVI, Arnaut Daniel looks back on his past as 'la passada folor' (past folly, l. 144). His hiding and weeping while

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[2] On Arnaut Daniel, and the transgressive aspects of his presentation, see William Burgwinkle, '"The Form of our Desire": Arnaut Daniel and the Homoerotic Subject in Dante's *Commedia*', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 104 (2004), 565–97.

[3] My *Dante and Difference*, chap. 5, discusses the three Cantos XXVI in the *Commedia*, and contains my earlier reading of *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI; see p. 191 n. 25 for bibliographical suggestions. See also Thomas R. Nevin, 'Regenerate Nature in *Purgatorio* 26', *Stanford Italian Review*, 3 (1984), 65–81.

singing suggests abjection; it may also imply a gender position: that he is weak, feminized. But the text is double: Arnaut sloughs off his past in the same way as he does in his love poetry: the state of desire that his poetry and this poetry records remains the same; the madness looked back on is not necessarily left behind at all; Arnaut is always in that condition of desire between a love which is 'folle' and that which is 'fin' — the latter being implied in the 'foco che gli affina' (l. 148).

And the divisions, between Dante and the souls he addresses, may be crossable: at moments, a chiasmic reversal seems near. In interviews with Francesca, with Farinata and Brunetto Latini, Dante's identity depends upon their distinctive qualities being declared transgressive and punishable.[4] The danger is throughout one of identification; here, the different voice of Virgil affirms another set of standards which may be other than those of Dante and the sinners he marks, as at the end of *Inferno* XXX, where Dante and Virgil react differently to the talk of Maestro Adamo and Sinon. *Purgatorio* XXVI with its poetic self-reflexivity, discovers transgressivness, and the other in opening up questions of gender, inevitable in a canto centring on questions of sexuality. Attention to this 'otherness' involves recognition of the text's unconscious: something that however indeterminate, lies close to this canto's surface.

The encounter with the souls purging themselves, the *lussuriosi*, seems to be crossed by something else: by three chiasmic moments that interrogate the sufficiency of the canto's textual utterance by asking what subtends it. The first is with Guinizzelli (his name withheld at the time of speaking) defining the nature of his sin, in contrast to that of the other group moving in the opposite direction: 'Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito' (l. 82) — a line which will be translated later. The second is his comment on Dante offering service:

> Ed elli a me: 'Tu lasci tal vestigio,
> per quel ch'i'odo, in me, e tanto chiaro,
> che Letè nol può tòrre né far bigio.'
> (ll. 106–08)

(And he to me, 'You leave, by that which I hear, traces so deep and clear in me that Lethe cannot take them away or make them dim.')

[4] For the chiasmus, see Rodolphe Gasché, 'Reading Chiasms: An Introduction', in Andrzej Warminski, *Readings in Interpretation: Hölderlin, Hegel, Heidegger*, Theory and History of Literature, 26 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. ix–xxvi.

The third is Dante's comment on Guinizzelli's 'dolci detti' which while 'l'uso moderno' lasts, he says, will make precious their very ink.

These second and third moments relate to Guinizzelli's and Dante's poetry; the first, with the sin that the cornice purges by fire. As only poets appear in the cornice of lust, the familiar link between poetry and the erotic becomes apparent. The second and third moments are linked by imagery. What does Guinizzelli mean when he speaks of a speech leaving traces? 'Vestigio' (Latin *vestigium*, 'footprints') appears in *Paradiso*, Canto XXXIII, line 81, in an address to Beatrice ('in inferno lasciar le tue vestige', to leave in hell your footprints) and in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXXIII, line 108, when a guide stops if 'trova novitate o sue vestigge' (he comes on some strange thing or traces thereof). Earlier it appears in *Inferno*, Canto XXIV, line 50, as a synonym for fame:

> sanza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
> cotal vestigio in terra di sé lascia,
> qual fummo in aere e in acqua la schiuma.
> (*Inf.*, XXIV. 49–51)

(without which whoso consumes his life leaves such vestige of himself on earth as smoke in air or foam on water.)

'Vestige' also comes in *Paradiso*, V. 11, where Beatrice says that if anything else seduces Dante's love 'non è se non di quella alcun vestigio, | mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce' (it is naught save some vestige of that light, ill-recognized, which therein shines through). Singleton compares *Monarchia*, I. 8. 2 — 'cum totum universum nichil aliud sit quam vestigium quoddam divinae bonitatis' (since the whole universe is nothing else than a certain vestige of the divine excellence). The context there is a commentary on Genesis 1.26 — 'Let us make man after our image and likeness'; it implies a previous printing or stamping of works through the idea of the *vestigio*, so that the reflection of eternal light on the object which Beatrice speaks of is registered as an imprinting, leaving a permanent mark. If matter seems in Dante to be dull and resistant, in comparison to the spiritual, here it receives an impression which is not for nothing. *Vestigio* implies a haunting, a shadowy presence persisting after the body has gone. Guinizzelli is himself a *vestigio*, then, and exists in a continuity with words in air, and with textuality itself.

For the imprint Dante's words leave will not fade or grow pale: Dante tells Guinizzelli that as long as modern use persists, his rhymes will continue to make their very ink precious. Ink could be a metonymy for the paper; but links back to the trace. *Vestigio* suggests writing — or perhaps, with Oderisi (*Purg.*, XI. 79–99)

in mind, illumination (the context, it will be recalled, also seems to involve Guinizzelli). In Canto XXVI, Dante says to the spirits 'ditemi, acciò ch'ancor carte ne verghi | chi siete voi' (ll. 64–65), which Singleton, presumably following Wicksteed, translates as 'tell me, so that I may yet trace it on paper, who you are', which is suggestive for the *vestigio* as the trace; but his note to the line is 'literally, "that I may yet rule pages for it"'. The poet is committed to further writing, with a stress on the labour of preparation of paper, like the labour involved in illumination. Covering the paper with lines, or with writing — as in Petrarch's address to the 'alma genta cui tante carte vergo'[5] — is an act of desire, or of love, and even ink is suggestive of passion in a canto describing burning: 'incostri' (XXVI. 114) relates to the Latin *incaustum*, the iron-gall ink 'oxidized, or burned into the parchment'.[6] If the ink remains precious it does so as the record of a purification: to write is tendentially an act entailing the refining fire, and the ink is precious as the trace of passion, desire and suffering.

The 'trace' in the context of preparing pages suggests the significance of writing, either upon the mind or upon the prior writing that makes up Guinizzelli's texts; it evokes Derrida's sense of the 'trace', that marker of writing which constructs all human experience. Recalling the materiality of ink emphasizes how affects are produced textually, through poets, pre-eminently. 'Sovenha vos' (be heedful, *Purg.*, XXVI. 147) is a message inscribed within ink. The 'trace' refuses the myth of origins, of any opening initiatory experience originating from a founding subject; experience is marked with previous writing.[7] The trace is dual, being not

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[5] *Rime sparse*, CXLVI. 2, 'noble spirit for whom I line so many pages', in *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The 'Rime sparse' and Other Lyrics*, trans. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 292–93.

[6] Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1991), p. 214. R. A. Shoaf, who accepted a first version of this chapter for *Exemplaria*, called to my attention Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les Encres noires au moyen âge* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983).

[7] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, p. 61. The sense of the *vestigio* is illuminated by Augustine (*Confessions*, XI. 18). See Karla Taylor's translation in *Chaucer Reads the 'Divine Comedy'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 27: '[W]hen past events are truly narrated, out of the memory are drawn forth, not the things that occurred in the past themselves, but words conceived from the images of those events — images that the events, in passing through the senses, have impressed in the mind like footprints.' See also her commentary: 'All memory is verbal, and the inner words of memory (*verba concepta*) are themselves based on mental images, the traces left in the mind by sensory impressions and captured, in this passage, by the strongly visual comparison to footprints (*vestigia*). Words and pictorial images seem to exchange for each other

unambiguously there, recording absence, non-presence at the origin. Such an ambiguity, where 'presence' is textual, distinguishes this canto, when the shades speak of Dante as not a shadowy fictitious body (XXVI. 12), as they are, as traces — though within the text he is 'fittizio'. Dante's speech acts as a trace within Guinizzelli who, prior to him, died in 1276, and as a form of writing within the discourse Guinizzelli calls the 'parlar materno'. Ideas of linear progression in time are baffled: the 'parlar materno' preceded Dante, especially if there is a link between Guinizzelli as the 'madre' and this language; but the trace is already within that mother-speech, the 'parlar materno', which as a concept or non-concept is created through Dante's poetry. That mother-speech cannot be an original, whole language, therefore, though certain aspects of it may be read using Heidegger, as the philosopher of language as it exists beyond individual utterance.

Guinizzelli speaks of that which he hears ('ch'i' odo'). That recalls Bonagiunta, on the cornice of gluttony, who historically took issue with Guinizzelli. Bona-giunta speaks to Dante of the 'dolce stil novo ch'i' odo' (XXIV. 57), having quoted 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' (XXIV. 51); what may Bonagiunta and Guinizzelli be said to hear? The words continue sounding for Bonagiunta: with Guinizzelli, it is not clear what the words that leave such traces are: perhaps the words of grace that Dante has spoken (XXVI. 53–60), saying that he is 'going upwards to be blind no longer', or the words uttered after his silence, when he had walked looking at Guinizzelli, words only summarized in indirect speech, offering his service. But the words conveying the trace include silence. Bonagiunta hears nothing: the absence that renders Dante's words fits the timbre of 'sanza udire e dir pensoso andai' (without hearing and speaking, I went thinking, XXVI. 100) where the absence of literal hearing does not necessarily shut off the poet into a single-subject state where he hears nothing, but suggests the effect of the trace in him, registered in silence. Invoking Heidegger is relevant: his later phi-losophy concentrates on the subject's ability and need to let go (the process of 'Gelassenheit'), and to take language as that which is experienced as beyond the self, and more important than it. Subjectivity is only in process, we are only 'on the way to language', not knowing what it is. When Heidegger says 'It is just as much a property of language to sound and ring and vibrate, to hover and to tremble, as it is for the spoken words of language to carry a meaning', he gives priority to listening over questioning, since he defines language by seeing it not as a concept but as an event, speaking actively and thus forming the subject;

here as both are dependent on a prior representation: the impression in the mind that is itself glossed imagistically as the "vestigio".'

furthermore this is an event which gives — *es gibt*.[8] 'Amor mi spira' indeed: Dante speaks in *Purgatorio*, XXIV. 53, as one who receives language from something beyond himself. The trace in Canto XXIV, as in Canto XXVI, suggests the occurrence of a chiasmus, as both poets, Bonagiunta and Guinizzelli, receive something from Dante, reversing an historical narrative order. And so with Virgil, whose poetry now has the Dantean trace within it, for modern readers.

This return-effect, where a later poetry makes an earlier discourse possible or richer, fits with Heidegger taking the origin of the work of art to be beyond the personal subjectivity of the artist — just as, in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI, the 'parlar materno' allows for the poetic discourse of these modern poets. Heidegger may be mentioned with diffidence, but not because his presence is unusual in medieval studies. Attention to the otherness of language in this area seems long overdue, and requires consideration in ways not confined to medieval rhetoric and to then contemporary understandings of such alterity: the terms of reference can very suggestively be those of Heidegger or Kristeva, who attend to the possibility of repression existing unconsciously in that rhetoric, in those who were constituted subjects in the fourteenth century. Or were such subjects simply oppressed, not repressed? But, the attempt to trace the 'feminine in language' in Heidegger must consider the absence in his work of the erotic.[9] Heidegger seems to involve less surrender of the self in erotic relationship than in Dante: in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI, there are so many expressions of desire, such as the souls nuzzling each other, the half-bawdiness of the cries the spirits utter against themselves, the sons longing for their mother, the expression of love towards the father, the use of 'frate' and the giving place of one self to another (XXVI. 133). These movements of desire exist within the purging of the lustful who still desire in the flame (XXVI. 18, 52); similarly, their poetry was marked by desire and by burning. Their desire provides pleasure, in Dante's ecstatic response and the poignancy of Guinizzelli's reply.

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[8] Martin Heidegger, 'The Nature of Language', in *On the Way to Language*, trans. by Peter D. Hertz (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), pp. 57–108 (p. 98).

[9] See Jean Graybeal, *Language and 'the Feminine' in Nietzsche and Heidegger* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 157. For the absence of the erotic in Heidegger, see Edith Wyschogrod, *Spirit in Ashes: Hegel, Heidegger and Man-Made Mass Death* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), comparing him with Rilke. Analysis of Heidegger's philosophy must also confront the political aspect of his work as discussed by Victor Farias, *Heidegger and Nazism*, ed. by Joseph Margolis and Tom Rockmore (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) and Richard Wolin, *The Politics of Being: The Political Thought of Martin Heidegger* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

If what was said of the trace suggests that previous texts are to be read differently as a result of the work of Dante, this could be read as an aspect of 'l'uso moderno' — of the modern enabling a rereading of earlier forms of poetry. The word *moderno*, considered before, now deserves more attention. 'Modern use' is normally considered to connect to the newness of writing in the vernacular, with reference to *Vita nuova*, 25. 4 — 'non è molto numero d'anni passati, che apparito prima questi poete volgari' (it was not a great many years ago that poets first appeared who wrote in the vernacular).[10] If this is what 'modern use' means, it includes Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel, with the 'parlar materno' (XXVI. 117) a shadowy trace behind the writings of both, in Provençal or Italian.

Nonetheless, the idea of the modern is not dependent on the definition of writing in the vernacular. For Curtius, *modernus* belongs to the sixth century, characterizing those who are of 'now'; elsewhere he speaks of the distinction emergent around 1170 between 'the humanistically minded disciples of antique poetry' — including Dante in his *Eclogues* — and the *moderni*. 'The latter also write in Latin — there is never any mention of vernacular literature in these debates — but they represent a "new" poetics.'[11] 'Modern use' may take up the associations of modernity challenging the literature of antiquity, both classical and Christian. Alain de Lille (*c.* 1128–1202) writes as a modern in the *Anticlaudianus* — his prose prologue arguing:

> Let this work not be disparaged as base nor suffer the sting of reproach because it reeks of the roughness of the moderns, who both exhibit the bloom of inborn genius and proclaim the merits of diligent care — for the lowliness of the dwarf, placed upon a giant's enormousness, surpasses the giant in height, and a brook gushing from a spring is increased and swells into a torrent.[12]

The familiar twelfth-century image of the dwarf on the giant's shoulders who thus can see further than the giant, reappears in Alain de Lille as a mock-modesty; as in Dante, 'modern use' implies the transcending of what has gone before.

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[10] *Literary Criticism of Dante Alighieri*, ed. and trans. by Robert S. Haller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 116, *Vita nuova*, pp. 106–09.

[11] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. by Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 254, 119.

[12] Translation in Kent Kraft, 'Modernism in the Twelfth Century', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 18 (1981), 287–95 (p. 288). On 'modernism' in this century, see M. T. Clanchy, '*Moderni* in Education and Government in England', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 671–88.

Transcending, and being modern too, even as twentieth-century modernism introduced a radical questioning into earlier, dominant modes.[13] The concept of the modern works through the twelfth century in debates over what should be taught in schools and universities, accruing suggestions that moderns are subtle, speculative — as in philosophy the *moderni* are associated with skepticism as regards epistemology and with a lack of a sense of determinism, of the necessity of things to have to be as they are in theological matters (Duns Scotus's voluntarism, his sense of God's *potentia absoluta* which theology could not touch, since it could only take account of the lesser *potentia ordinata* whereby God limited himself in order to enter into covenant with men). Perhaps the interest in empiricism of a *modernus* such as William of Ockham (1288–1348) fits the text's reference to 'esperienza' (*Purg.*, XXVI. 75) as what Dante collects in passing through this region. Experience, sensory, like sexual love, challenges the primacy of reason and theology, and the synthesizing of wisdom within a complete summa. Thus the conception of the 'modern' may touch radical ground, challenging settled opinion and the premises, rational and theological, that such opinion assumed in order to reach its conclusions. To associate Dante with largely anti-Thomist *moderni* is not to attribute to him any definite set of beliefs that they had, but to suggest that the phrase 'uso moderno' may imply transgressive tendencies.[14]

The declaration that Dante's poetic, and perhaps that of Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel, belongs to the modern touches the canto's heart, and de-centres Dante. It implies historical awareness — perhaps of historical relativity, recalling the dialogue with Oderisi on fame — but also introduces a narrative of movement

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[13] Association of Dante with modernism is hardly new — in Eliot, Pound, Auden, Beckett: see Stuart Y. McDougal, *Dante Amongst the Moderns* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Mary T. Reynolds, *Joyce and Dante: The Shaping Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and more generally, Robert Pogue Harrison, 'Comedy and Modernity: Dante's Hell', *Modern Language Notes*, 102 (1987), 1043–61; Daniela Caselli, *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

[14] For the *moderni* see Janet Coleman, *Piers Plowman and the 'Moderni'* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981), chap. 1. On medieval scepticism, seen as in part a result of the failure of the Crusades, see Bowers, *Crisis of Will*, pp. 3–16, 43–60. For an overview of the period, see Heiko A. Oberman, 'Fourteenth-Century Religious Thought: A Premature Profile', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 80–93. For William of Ockham's sense of lust as physiological, see Bonnie Kent, 'On the Track of Lust: *Luxuria*, Ockham and the Scientists', in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), pp. 349–70.

forward, where modern use cannot perish: something new has come in with those poets who work with the 'parlar materno'. Another demarcation is suggested by the phrase from the poetry of Virgil and Statius, who are also there, Virgil speaking words of warning to Dante (XXVI. 3). Separation from those older spirits and from their use for language connects to the erotic, suggesting that 'l'uso moderno' is inherently transgressive through its linking of poetry to sexual love. Statius is not a poet of the erotic, though his subject is *furor*, and something of that non-eroticism may be a subtext within Canto XXV, his account of conception and birth and the body and of the *fittizio* body (fictitious in not being flesh and blood; fictitious too in belonging to the fiction the poem is and the fiction Statius's narrative is). But such a statement about the erotic could not be made about Virgil, especially as in *Purgatorio*, XXII. 57, he speaks as the 'cantor de' buccolici carmi' (singer of the bucolic songs) and *Eclogue*, VI. 45–60, may be cited in Canto XXVI, lines 41–42. His second Eclogue deals with homoerotic love, the sixth, eighth, and tenth with heterosexual.[15]

Sodom and Gomorrah

That ambiguity within Virgil is suggestive for the first statement singled out for attention in the canto — Guinizzelli's confession of fault. 'Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito' distinguishes one group of sinners in Canto XXVI from the other. But what marks out the others? Those who run past the original number, according to Guinizzelli.

<div align="center">

offese
di ciò per che già Cesar, trïunfando,
'Regina' contra sé chiamar s'intese.

(ll. 76–78)

</div>

(offended in that for which Caesar in his triumph once heard 'Queen' cried out against him.)

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[15] Eclogue II's dominant image — the lover burning — is relevant for *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI; so too the sense of love as madness — 'me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amor?' (love still burns me up; for what bound is set to love?): cf. Arnaut Daniel on 'la passada folor' (*Purg.*, XXVI. 143). Cf. *Eclogues*, VI. 47, on Pasiphae, 'ali virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit' (unhappy virgin, what madness seized you) with *Eclogues*, II. 69: 'ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit'. Echoes of Pasiphae exist also in *Eclogues* VIII. On the details of the love poetry, in *Eclogues* II, VI, VIII, and X, see Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the 'Eclogues'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

They record a carnivalesque overturning of royalist and imperial pretensions: the spirits meeting, interrupting, and shouting seem to enact a Bakhtinian carnival and saturnalia, including, almost, its own *jouissance* — with this difference, that they shout against themselves, accuse themselves, in that form of confession Bakhtin makes part of the carnivalesque, a moment of affirming community. 'Soddoma' (XXVI. 40) suggests homosexuality, recalling *Inferno*, Cantos XV and XVI, and this is subversive: the representative of Empire, on whose account Brutus and Cassius suffer in *Inferno*, belongs to the political will to tyranny which is undone by the anarchic spirit that comically subverts the title 'King'. Sexuality is made disruptive, carnivalesque, just as the crowd's cries go against the hierarchical order of Caesar's procession. While Dante's sympathies rest with Caesar and his triumph, that is not allowed to work on its own terms of reference. It is questioned by sodomy, which also represents a turning away from 'nature'. Reversing nature and reversing an historical triumphal narrative both involve questioning ideological representations. Putting these ideas together suggests that the lines have the power to undo the transgressive nature of sodomy, or, to make the transgressive the necessary.

Sodomy was touched on in Chapter 8, with Peter Damian, and Chapter 9, with the accusation against the Templars; defining it in the medieval period means taking account of its many possible senses.[16] Sodomy becomes a literary topos in the mid-twelfth century, a hundred years after Peter Damian, and perhaps in relation to stricter clerical restraints, such as the imposition of clerical celibacy at the First and Second Lateran Councils of 1123 and 1139. Its alliance with heresy began to figure in the early thirteenth century, through the agencies of Innocent II.[17] Definitions of sodomy, which implies a new affective state, would include acts of homosexuality, but not just that; it would include acts of intercourse where the semen was lost — another connecting point back to *Purgatorio*, Canto XXV, and to Statius's account of the itinerary of semen there.

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[16] See Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). He discusses the meaning given to 'luxuria' in both the Bible and in patristic writings: 'lussuria' and its cognates appears in Dante in *Inf.*, V. 55 (Semiramiris), V. 63 (Cleopatra), *Purg.*, VII. 102, where it is paired with 'ozio' (sloth, ease), and in this canto, where it is used once about Pasiphae (l. 42). In *Paradiso*, XIX. 124, it is applied to Ferdinand IV, King of Castile and León (1295–1312) and is associated with 'him of Bohemia', Wenceslaus II, the same as the King of *Purg.*, VII. 102. In each case, in Dante, 'lussuria' is associated with rule, often female rule; the point supplements what is said about Julius Caesar. The poets are the exception.

[17] See William Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature: France and England, 1050–1230* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 30–32.

Wyclif, for instance, reads simony as spiritual sodomy, because through it the effects of the seed of the Word of God are frustrated:

> For just as in carnal sodomy contrary to nature the seed is lost by which an individual human being would be formed, so in this sodomy (i.e., simony) the seed of God's word is lost with which a spiritual generation in Christ Jesus would be created. And as sodomy in the time of the law of nature was one of the most serious sins against nature, so simony in the time of the law of grace is one of the most serious sins against grace.[18]

Sodomy, then, names a sexuality — or activity — that frustrates teleology, goal-directedness; its unnaturalness connects with its questioning of the existence of a straight path or progression via transgression. Medieval sodomy, though it is called that from a position of power, may also act in return to threaten the ideology of Nature, defended by Virgil, who must say — outside the spirit of his second Eclogue — that the sodomites 'spregiando natura, e sua bontade' ([are] despising Nature and her goodness, *Inf.*, XI. 48). It is the characteristic of *Paradiso* that there is no turning there, no deviation, no transgression — 'appetito non si torce' (appetite is not warped, *Para.*, XVI. 5). Dante's 'uso moderno' involves the possibility of a carnivalesque evoking of transgression and, since the poetics glanced at in *Purgatorio* XXVI, are placed alongside an evocation of the sexual, to see poetry as, like the sexual, running against nature and the ideology of what is natural associated with it. Such a point might be intimated through the sodomites. But for the other, more prominent, more centred group:

> Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito;
> ma perché non servammo umana legge,
> seguendo come bestie l'appetito,
>   in obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge,
> quando partinci, il nome di colei
> che s'imbestiò ne le 'mbestiate schegge.
>   (ll. 82–87)

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[18] Wyclif, 'On Sodomy', trans. by Terrence A. McVeigh, quoted in Eugene Vance, *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), p. 24. On homosexuality in the Middle Ages, see Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*: there is also much of relevance here to the hermaphrodite considered as the homosexual. Dissident readings of *Inferno*, Canto XV, which construct Brunetto Latini's sin as not that of homosexuality, are important: see, for example, Peter Armour, 'Dante's Brunetto: The Paternal Paterine', *Italian Studies*, 38 (1983), 1–38, for a recent statement of points for and against. It is another example of what Foucault calls 'sodomy — that utterly confused category' (*History of Sexuality 1: An Introduction*, trans. by Hurley, p. 101). Joseph Pequigney, 'Sodomy in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*', *Representations*, 36 (1991), 22–42, sees sodomy in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI, as 'erotic excess' (p. 39).

(Our sin was hermaphrodite: but because we observed not human law, following appetite like beasts, when we part from them, the name of her who bestialized herself in the beast-shaped planks is uttered by us, in opprobrium of ourselves.)

They shout 'Nella vacca entra Pasife, | perché 'l torello a sua lussuria corra' (Pasiphae enters into the cow, | that the bull may hasten to her lust, ll. 41–42). The haste of the bull (*corra*) and the haste of the penitents ('trascorra', l. 38) operate together: the speed is part of the disruption, in a canto otherwise more meditative.

But both the abusive cry and the explanation of it, as well as the account of the sin as *ermafrodito*, read curiously. Besides the Virgilian source, Pasiphae derives from Ovid (*Ars amatoria*, I. 289–386, *Met.*, VIII. 131–58.). The context in *Ars amatoria* is the willingness of women to be wooed and their readiness to transgress, Pasiphae with her white bull being a teasing instance of this. 'Well known is that I sing of: Crete, that holds a hundred cities, cannot deny this, liar though she be.'[19] The affirmation of truth in the context of Crete's reputation for lying (compare 'the Cretans are always liars', *Titus*, I. 12) puts the narrative into a context of fiction — which it is anyway. Further, the account of Pasiphae's love for the bull, ending in her experience in a cow of maple-wood, is playful, indulgent, possessing the transgressiveness of fiction. A contrast to that playfulness runs through *Purgatorio* XXVI. The speakers are all men, the sodomites emphasizing the maleness of the erotic that is being purged — while, on the cornice, seven women are referred to — Mary, Diana, Elice, Venus, Pasiphae, Beatrice (if she is referred to in Canto XXVI, line 59), Isifile, all invested with symbolic existences. While Ovid teases by stressing the weakness of women, this canto avoids that fictionalizing and playful note by investing in women as sexually corrupt. Pasiphae is marked out by a false, non-natural metamorphosis, becoming identified with the 'falsa vacca' (false cow) of *Inferno*, XII. 13; and her un-naturalness plays against Guinizzelli's reference to human laws (these lovers have not gone to Pasiphae's lengths), and those human laws are contrasted by the text to the natural laws the sodomites break. Pasiphae's breaking of laws aligns her more to the sodomites.

The antifeminism of the comparison, excluding male lust, the reaccentuation of Ovid's playfulness, and the forced comparison of ordinary beasts (XXVI. 84) to Pasiphae's extravagant behaviour in relationship to the bull (XXVI. 87 — an expression of a male fantasy) — all suggest anxiety about the sexual which succeeds

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[19] *Ars amatoria*, I. 297–98, trans. by J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 33.

in displacing it. But more odd is calling the sin *ermafrodito*. It might have been expected that the two groups would have encompassed both homosexuality and heterosexuality. Sapegno, Bosco and Reggio, and Singleton read *ermafrodito* as meaning 'heterosexual', Vallone and Scorrano as 'bisessuale'. Thomas R. Nevin refers to early commentators taking it to imply bisexuality, and others to imply that these lovers were 'ne l'atto venero ora agenti et ora pazienti'. He also has a footnote where he refers to Benvenuto da Imola's reference to the 'sin of hermaphroditism', while he also cites Statius's characterization of copulation, 'l'un disposto a patire, e l'altro a fare' (one designed to be passive, the other to be active, *Purg.*, XXV. 47). The semen provides the active force, the menstrual blood, on which it falls, the passive. Nevin also, in view of this, reads Dante as a 'triumphantly unreconstructed "chauvinist"' since for him 'masculine meant [...] active'.[20]

These readings diverge; *ermafrodito* seems to mean anything from heterosexual to homosexual. Alain de Lille, discussed in detail by Mark Jordan — who quotes what Alain understands by sodomy: it is 'where semen is deposited outside of the place specified for it'[21] — associates the hermaphrodite with the sodomite: 'The active sex shudders in disgrace as it sees itself degenerate into the passive sex. A man turned woman blackens the fair name of his sex. The witchcraft of Venus turns him into an hermaphrodite. He is subject and predicate.'[22] For Curtius, in the medieval period 'only a fluid boundary separates [hermaphroditism] from male homosexuality'.[23] But a fluid boundary is what Ovid's narrative is concerned with, as it tells of Hermaphroditus, son of Mercury and Venus, being seduced by the nymph Salmacis (*Met.*, IV. 285–388). As with Pasiphae, the woman takes the initiative. Ovid gives the history of the boy's movement from mountains to streams (drawn towards something, he cannot intuit what), and depicts the nymph Salmacis as both the woman and the watery medium that dissolves identities and that eventually links the two figures together into one sex. The attraction, unknown by the boy, is for dissolution, for loss of sexual difference, of

[20] Nevin, 'Regenerate Nature', pp. 77–78.

[21] Jordan, *Invention of Sodomy*, p. 90.

[22] Alain de Lille, *The Complaint of Nature,* trans. by James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), pp. 67–68. The association of a correct sexuality with its carefully apportioned roles to correct grammar or syllogizing (see my *Dante and Difference*, pp. 89–90) lends itself to deconstruction, as with Nietzsche's 'I fear we are not getting rid of God because we still believe in grammar': see *Twilight of the Idols*, p. 38.

[23] Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 113.

the distinction between the self and the other. The aspiration belongs with the myth of origins that the *Symposium* plays with when Aristophanes tells of the original androgynes. While Dante could not have known Plato directly, he could have been aware of the idea of Adam as originally androgynous, as which suggests that individuality belongs to the Fall.[24]

If Guinizzelli had wanted to convey by *ermafrodito* that he and the others in the group were simply heterosexual, he could scarcely have chosen a more unfortunate way to express it. But Singleton's note on 'ma' in the following line deserves weighing: 'The conjunction clearly implies that "*ermafrodito*" might also be used of a love that is not sinful.' Agreement with that means that the very transgressiveness of the 'sin' characterized by hermaphroditism is itself necessary; it cannot be discarded. Both groups of sinners question the concept of transgression. While there are elements here condemnatory of the sexual, and anti-feminist in their mode of procedure, there are also countervailing suggestions which deconstruct such a position by suggesting that the nature of desire cuts across any ideological stability, and gives the priority to that which is disruptive of order.

These moments of the canto may be thought together — the description of transgressiveness, which may belong to 'uso moderno'; the trace existent in speech. Guinizzelli's description of his sin both reveals and conceals, teases by its refusal to offer a complete explanation. But *ermafrodito* takes femininity out of any marginal transgressive position, making it a condition of sexuality and of poetry,

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[24] On Hebrew understandings of Adam as androgynous, in Genesis 1. 27, and for Origen's, and Augustine's interpretations of that, see Maryanne Cline Horowtiz, 'The Image of God in Man: Is Woman Included?', *Harvard Theological Review*, 72 (1979), 175–206. See also, for Jewish, patristic, and Gnostic understandings of the androgyne, Wayne A. Meeks, 'The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity', *History of Religion*, 13 (1974), 165–208. On neo-Platonism, the hermaphrodite could also be taken as the image of perfect marriage: see A. B. Cirillo, 'The Fair Hermaphrodite: Love-Union in the Poetry of Donne and Spenser', *Studies in English Literature*, 9 (1969), 81–95; Donald Cheney, 'Spenser's Hermaphrodite and the 1590 *Faerie Queene*', *PMLA*, 87 (1972), 192–200; and C. S. Lewis, *Spenser's Images of Life*, ed. by Alastair Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 36–44. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), pp. 211–13, also discussing the hermaphrodite as a figure in alchemy, representing a synthesis of elements. Wind (p. 75 n. 1) associates the Hermaphrodite myth with that of Narcissus. Alastair Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 167, refers to the Gemini as depicted as androgynous. The Gemini are relevant to Dante (*Para.*, XXII. 112–20) and may be glanced at in this canto as the two sons beholding their mother, which would obviously suggest Dante as also, in desire, *ermafrodito*.

and of rule, too, if the reference to Caesar as 'Queen' is remembered. Perhaps Statius's sense of the male as active and the female as passive is relativized by this canto, and Statius, as not a modern, declares his non-modernity in this (though his prior reference to the *Aeneid* in feminine terms in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXI, lines 97–98, sets all this in almost dialectical terms: the feminine, the exclusion of the feminine, the declaration of the importance of the hermaphrodite). And that last significance it seems (in the light of Ovid), is the loss of single identity, going beyond the single-subject position.

Poetry and Desire

The canto becomes thus venturesome in Dante's response to Guinizzelli's self-revelation, where he announces his name without any addition, as though everything by which he could describe himself has already been burned away. That does not make Dante's desire of him less (XXVI. 91) but involves silence, the breaking of a narrative which has so far been fluent (compare XXVI. 25–27, 49–52 for that continuity). The break is only filled by the statement that Dante was thinking; but the thought is concealed. A recognition of a gap in speech, doubly significant in a canto full of poets, where love and desire are produced by a performative language, is again suggestive in the light of Heidegger, for whom the boundary between silence and speech is not fixed.[25]

> Quali ne la tristizia di Ligurgo
> si fer due figli a riveder la madre,
> tal mi fec'io, ma non a tanto insurgo,
>   quand'io odo nomar sé stesso il padre
> mio e de li altri miei miglior che mai
> rime d'amor usar dolci e leggiadre;
>   e sanza udire e dir pensoso andai
> lunga fiata rimirando lui,
> né, per lo foco, in là più m'appressai.
>   Poi che di riguardar pasciuto fui,

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[25] Alan Megill, *Prophets of Extremity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 169–70, compares Wittgenstein and Heidegger on the relation between poetry and silence, arguing that whereas Wittgenstein chooses silence — 'Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen' (whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent) — with regard to mystical thought, Heidegger chooses poetry, but 'it can be convincingly argued that Heidegger's poetry is a form of silence, and Wittgenstein's silence a form of poetry'.

tutto m'offersi pronto al suo servigio

con l'affermar che fa credere altrui.

Ed elli a me: 'Tu lasci tal vestigio […]'

(ll. 94–106)

(As in the sorrow of Lycurgus two sons became on beholding their mother again, so I became, but I do not rise to such heights, when I hear name himself the father of me and of others my betters who ever used sweet and gracious rhymes of love; and without hearing or speaking, I went pondering, gazing a long time at him; nor did I draw nearer to him, because of the fire. When I had fed my sight on him, I offered myself wholly ready for his service, with the oath that compels another's belief. And he to me, 'You leave, by that which I hear, traces […]')

Later, Guinizzelli refers to the talk of fools ('lascia dir li stolti', XXVI. 119). Silence moves away from talk in the context of those who praise an art ostensibly dedicated to love but lacking, failing poetically. Heidegger's reference to idle talk — *Gerede* — is relevant; so is Barthes's sense, that

the primary substance of literature is not the unnamable, but on the contrary the named […]. The writer does not 'wrest' speech from silence, as we are told in pious literary hagiographies, but inversely, and how much more arduously, more cruelly and less gloriously, detaches a secondary language from the slime of primary languages afforded him by the world, history, his existence, in short by an intelligibility which preexists him […] the whole task of art is to *unexpress the expressible*.[26]

Idle talk follows the art that fails; silence follows the art of Guinizzelli; whereof Dante can speak, thereof he is silent. Perhaps silence embodies his refusal of the dominant subject-position. For in the quotation, not only the reference to the *vestigio* breaks up that single-subject position by its inclusion of the other. Gazing at Guinizzelli involves more than mere literal looking. It goes beyond the male figure who would interpose himself — Lycurgus-like — to reach the mother who is also the father, in another moment of androgyny. Guinizzelli points beyond his work to the 'parlar materno', and thus replaces himself by the feminine. But then silence is not simply literal; it involves the unconscious, which goes beyond utterance — certainly that of 'gli stolti' — and which is here called the 'vestigio'. Silence is not the absence of desire, then: there seems to be the implication that poetry — writing — is inseparable from the aporia, from gaps insistent within the construction of the erotic.

[26] Heidegger, *Being and Time*, § 35, p. 211; 'Gerede' is the 'already spoken'. Roland Barthes, *Critical Essays*, trans. by Richard Howard (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), p. xvii.

The trace, according to Guinizzelli, cannot be taken away by Lethe, which suggests forgetfulness, as it appears in *Purgatorio*, XXXIII. 91–103. Lethe acts on the memory, obliterating it, but the memory of Guinizzelli, or the scene of writing altogether, has been so inscribed that such erasure is impossible. The past is Kristeva's 'land of oblivion, constantly remembered'.[27] Heidegger's antagonism to clarificatory, Cartesian objective 'truth' makes him use the Greek *aletheia*, which with its privative prefix *a-* and its stem which suggests being hidden, and its connection with the word *Lethe*, is 'that which is uncovered, unconcealed, surpassing that which can be taken away by Lethe'. Forgetfulness: concealment — both concepts appear in this canto. Heidegger defines truth, contending that it is always something that must be 'wrested from entities. Entities get snatched out of their hiddenness. The factical uncoveredness of anything is always, as it were, a kind of robbery.'[28] There can only be glimpses at any moment of what is, and those glimpses play within a pattern of presence and absence, revelation and concealment.

The moment of the divine vision in *Paradiso*, Canto XXXIII, is also described in terms of Lethe and of the trace, rather than in those of direct perception:

> Un punto solo m'è maggior letargo
> che venticinque secoli a la 'mpresa
> che fé Nettuno ammirar l'ombra d'Argo.
>   (*Para.*, XXXIII. 94–96)

(A single moment makes for me greater oblivion than five and twenty centuries have wrought upon the enterprise that made Neptune wonder at the shadow of the Argo.)

The enterprise (*impresa*) of Jason, the first mariner, is only seen as the shadow of the ship (or perhaps, less literally, the 'ombra' would be the ship's wake, also a kind of shadow); it is revealed not in its full reality, only as a trace. Neptune looks up from a sea that has been darkened by the ship moving overhead, as Guinizzelli and his troop look out from darkened flames. (Perhaps *Purgatorio*, II. 42 — the angelic ferry — glosses, by comparison, the relationship of the ship to the water.) *Impresa* also means 'an impression', and in an argument about the trace, could contain within it the *vestigio* of a later meaning, that is, writing (as a Renaissance impresa). The trace includes the wake of the ship as a *vestigio*, so what survives after Lethe takes away the full presence of the vision, is what Guinizzelli speaks of in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI, lines 106–08). If Heidegger's stress on philosophy's

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[27] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 9.

[28] Heidegger, *Being and Time*, § 44, p. 265.

having forgotten the question of being may be used here, then the self is at this point made aware that the basis of its insight and power remains opaque, unknown. The poem hides as much as it reveals; it cannot bring a whole truth to light.

But resting with a sense of the text resisting a full reading is less interesting than to note how the self is given over, in any case, to a loss of itself through desire of the other. The erotic suggestiveness of the poets alluded to in *Purgatorio* XXVI necessitates going beyond Heidegger; his sense of the play of absence and presence needs supplementing by the sense that such a play is constitutive of desire and erotic. Thus Arnaut Daniel, though he says that he cannot nor will he conceal himself from Dante, hides himself in the refining fire (XXVI. 148), as Guinizzelli has already disappeared like a fish going to the bottom (XXVI. 134–35): the fire, like the mother, sustains him as a necessary form of life. In Arnaut Daniel's *trobar clus*, 'Lo ferm voler' — the erotic sestina whose form Dante follows in the *rime petrose* — there seems to be the desire to write or speak in such a manner that the utterance remains partially hidden. Concealment suggests that the object of desire is not outside language which itself sets up desire: *jouissance* comes from that play of language which is not articulated in such a way to set up a single subject or object of desire. For the canto to close with a literary form only partially readable, that is, Dante's version of Arnaut Daniel's Provençal, suggests that the hermeneutic drive within the text towards clarification is attended by an opposite movement. Nevin suggests that *ermafrodito* may contain Dante's wordplay and be rendered as 'love-messenger, on the basis of Hermes' and Aphrodite's mythic functions'.[29] The link this canto makes between sexuality and language may be that Hermes operates in the ambiguous character of the hermaphrodite — revealing and stealing, agent of insight and eloquence — but he is also to be equated with the Egyptian Thoth, the inventor of writing, that inherently double and destabilizing form, which, for Derrida, belongs with the undecidability of Plato's *pharmakon*.[30]

Arnaut Daniel is called 'a better workman of the mother tongue': refining it like a blacksmith working something in the fire. Now the fire refines him. Especially in the light of Alain de Lille's sense of sexual inversion, and the imagery

[29] Nevin, 'Regenerate Nature', p. 78.

[30] 'As a messenger, Thoth is consequently also an interpreter, *hermēneus*. This is one, among numerous others, of the features of his resemblance with Hermes': Jacques Derrida, 'Plato's *Pharmakon*', in *Dissemination*, trans. by Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 61–172 (p. 88).

of 'Venus' hammers being converted to the function of anvils',[31] there is at least
the possibility in this line of a kind of incest — as there is with Arnaut's *chantar
d'ongl' e d'oncle* — 'the song of finger-nail and uncle', suggestive of an incestuous
crossing over — a chiasmus in that it suggests a switch of subject-positions — into
the bedroom/woman's body which seems to be possessed by the uncle. If poetry
as a form of transgression exists here in that line commemorating Arnaut as the
fabbro, there is also a crossing over as the fire and the *parlar materno* seem sug-
gestive of each other and double each other.

   Doubling, which breaks the single-subject position, provides a trope for the
canto: in the two sons who see their mother; in the mother who is also the father;
in the two groups running past each other on the cornice who both are and are
not different from each other; and in the figure of the hermaphrodite who on this
reading becomes the privileged figure to confuse the sense of a single gendered
centre of discourse. This may be where the real purchase of 'uso moderno'
exists. Modernity is contrasted with its opposite:

> Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,
> di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio
> fin che l'ha vinto il ver con più persone.
>   (ll. 124–26)

   (Thus did many of our fathers with Guittone, from cry to cry giving the prize to him
   alone, until with most the truth prevailed.)

The 'antichi' are not necessarily earlier in time than the moderns: here, they can
hardly be, since Guittone d'Arezzo seems to have been born around the same time
as Guinizzelli (1230) and not to have died until 1293. The actions of the 'antichi'
stand in a near relation to the central event of this canto. Their 'grido' is self-
confirming, monologistic, contrasting with the 'sopragridar' (l. 39) of the double
set of spirits, each of whose cry crosses the other's, as though to place sodomy
and hermaphroditism in a relationship of non-determinacy with each other,
neither given a hierarchical status in relation to the other. The 'gridar che più lor

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[31] Alain de Lille, *Complaint of Nature*, Prose 4, ll. 135–37. Pasiphae is referred to here, as is
Myrrha (cf. *Inferno*, XXX. 37–41), not as in Ovid changed to a tree but into a pig as though to
show the character of incestuous lust, and Tiresias. (Cf. *Inferno*, XX. 40–45, where Virgil speaks
with amused contempt of his sex change and return to his 'maschili penne' — after he has found
the use of his rod — his 'verga' again.) Such sexual wordplay may relate to Arnaut Daniel's
'vergua', his rod, in 'Lo ferm voler'. This makes 'ne verghi' (l. 64) suggestive (*vergare* includes 'to
flog' (with a rod), 'to rule', 'to write', and 'to pen'), perhaps making the act of writing sexual.

si convene' (the cry that most suits them, l. 48) is impersonal, not taken up with the individual subject, whereas the cry of the 'antichi' intends to confirm the greatness of a particular subject. In contrast, both Dante and Guinizzelli speak of others who are described as 'miglior' (XXVI. 98 and 117) and thus evoke a poetry of plurality.

The comedy inherent in the self-accusing cries of these spirits, vying with each other to establish either sodomy or the sin of the *ermafrodito* as primary, comes close to affirming the primacy of the erotic within speech, and asks for a writing which is beyond a single dominant gender position. To suggest that the loss of hard distinctions between subject and subject, glanced at in this canto where eroticism and poetry both signify the end of the sufficient discrete self, means an aspiration towards an *ecriture feminine* does not imply that problems of dominant masculinity are swept away by reference to a notional feminine in writing nowhere else represented, nor to a privileging of the woman in essentialist terms. But it might imply that the writing and design of the *Commedia*, usually gendered as masculine, recognize the inadequacy of that masculinity to sustain them — that in twenty-first-century terms we might say that the excluded part is feminine, and that here in the canto of lust which joins and separates the sexually different, there is the sense that it is only by the transgression of that ordered design that there is any writing at all.

Matelda: Love, Narcissism, Fragmentation

The second stanza of Cavalcanti's 'Donna mi prega', the canzone (no. 27) where the 'I' says he has been asked by a lady, whose demand is absolute, to speak of love — that is, of an 'accidente, che sovente é fero | ed è sì altero, chè chiamato amore' (an accident that often is strong and so proud that it is called love, ll. 2–3)[1] — is the only time it is so called. Love, in Cavalcanti, overthrows all autonomy. The second stanza makes love deceptive, focusing on two moments of vision:

> In quella parte dove sta memora
> prende suo stato, sì formato, come
> diafan, da lume, d'una scuritate
>   la quale da Marte vene e fa demora;
> Elli è creato ed ha sensato nome
> d'alma costume, e de cor volontate.
>   Vèn da veduta forma che s'intende,
> che prende nel possible intelletto,
> come in subietto, loco e dimoranza.
> In quella parte mai non ha pesanza,
>   perché da qualitate non discende;
> resplende in sé, perpetuale effetto;

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[1] The numbering of Cavalcanti's poems follows the edition of Gianfranco Contini, 1960, itself following Guido Favati: see Guido Cavalcanti, *The Complete Poems*, trans. by Marc Cirigliano (New York: Italica, 1992), and Lowry Nelson, Jr, *The Poetry of Guido Cavalcanti* (New York: Garland, 1986) for differing readings of 'Donna mi prega': I follow Cirigliano's Italian here.

> non ha diletto ma consideranza,
> sì che non pote largir simiglianza.
>
> (ll. 15–28)

(It takes its being in the part where memory is; so formed as the diaphanous from light, from a darkness which comes from Mars and which dwells there. It is created and has the name of a sensation, it is the habit of the soul and the will of the heart. It comes from a form that is seen, that is understood, which takes place and dwelling in the possible intellect, as in the subject. In that part, [it exists] but it does not have pain, because it does not come from physical qualities, shining upon itself, perpetual effect. It does not have delight but it is a contemplation, because it does not grant similarity.)

Aristotle had spoken of the 'diaphanous' as a transparent medium which, when it is actualized by light, takes a visible form from the object to the person who sees.[2] Love, however, is that diaphanous thing which comes into existence not by light shining but by a darkness that comes from the destructive planet, that is, Mars, not Venus (cf. *Para.*, VIII. 1–9). It is light, but dark at the same time. Dwelling in the appetitive soul, it is sensual, sexual, a habit of the mind, and the will of the heart. But then it seems also to exist in the possible intellect, which, if Cavalcanti is assumed to have been Averroist, may be separate from the body, and be wholly abstract.[3] 'In quella parte' it is without sorrow or joy, since it is without physical qualities. But it has 'consideranza' — that is, it reflects. It shines on itself, but does not confer similarity on anything, remaining isolated. In that sense it corresponds to something narcissistic. And it is spoken of pessimistically: 'Di sua potenza segue spesso morte' — Death often follows its power (l. 35).[4]

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[2] See Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 25.

[3] See Barolini, *Dante's Poets*, pp. 142–46, for this poem's second stanza in *Inferno*, X. 64–69. Dante refers to the canzone in *DVE*, II. 13, and *Convivio*, IV. 20. 7. See Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'A Philosophical Treatise from Bologna Dedicated to Guido Cavalcanti: Magister Jacobus de Pistorio and his "Questio de Felicitate"', in *Medioevo e Rinascimento: Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1966) I, 425–63. An orthodox reading deriving from Albertus Magnus is given by J. E. Shaw, *Guido Cavalcanti's Theory of Love* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949). An Averroist reading comes from Maria Corti, *La felicità mentale: Nuove prospettive per Cavalcanti e Dante* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), pp. 3–37.

[4] Maurice Valency, *In Praise of Love: An Introduction to the Love-Poetry of the Renaissance* (New York: Macmillan, 1958), p. 228, paraphrases: 'Love [...] is not a substance but an accident. It resides in the region of the memory, and is the result of a shadow cast by Mars. It proceeds from a visible shape which, once it is made intelligible, passes into the possible intellect. Love never exerts its power in that quarter because there the form has its universal character only, and therefore shines perpetually on itself, affording not pleasure, but meditation. Love, however, is not a rational urge. It is sensual, and therefore disturbs the rational judgement, and since it substitutes

Dante's Dream

This ambiguity within love, which is dark or obscure, within the lover, contrasts with a move towards serenity in Dante, which appears in Canto XXVI, and follows Statius's dismissal of the Averroistic view of the Cavalcantian 'possible intellect' in Canto XXV, line 65. It is not easy to see where the cornice of lust ends because though it seems to have been completed with the angel singing *Beati mundo corde* (Blessed are the pure in heart), it then produces the requirement that Dante should pass through the fire, and that in turn leads to two episodes which are hard to assign a meaning to, first, the third dream, on the third night in Purgatory, after those of Cantos IX, lines 13–33, and XIX, lines 1–32, and second, the encounter with Matelda; I call her this throughout, though the name is withheld until Canto XXXIII, line 119. Cavalcanti is not forgotten within the last section of *Purgatorio*, and perhaps the disturbing power of love has been the subject of the three dreams of the *cantica*. Each dream contains an element of doubleness and deceptiveness; the third dream suggesting this however innocently with the image of the women with their mirrors:

> Ne l'ora, credo, che de l'orïente,
> prima raggiò nel monte Citerea,
> che di foco d'amor par sempre ardente,
>   giovane e bella in sogno mi parea
> donna vedere andar per una landa
> cogliendo fiori; e cantando dicea:
>   'Sappia qualunque il mio nome dimanda
> ch' i' mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
> le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.
>   Per piacermi a lo specchio, qui m'addorno;
> ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga
> dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno.
>   Ell' è d'i suoi belli occhi veder vaga
> com'io de l'addornarmi con le mani:
> lei lo vedere, e me l'ovrare appaga.'
>   (*Purg.*, XXVII. 94–108)[5]

intention for reason, in a vicious nature it would be a bad guide. Love is a rare thing, most often seen in noble natures. It is indivisible, beyond colour and outside being. Sealed in darkness, it radiates light, and he who is worthy of faith says that only from love is born mercy.'

    [5] On Canto XXVII, see Barański, 'Structural Retrospection', pp. 1–23. On the construction of lines 97–98, see *Purgatorio*, trans. by Durling and Martinez, p. 469.

(In the hour, I believe, when Cytherea, who seems always ardent with the fire of love, first shone from the east on the mountain, I seemed to see in dream a young and beautiful lady going upon a open plain collecting flowers, and singing, she said, 'Know, whoever would demand my name, that I am Leah, and go moving my fair hands around to make a garland. To please me at the mirror, here I adorn myself, but my sister Rachel never turns away from her mirror, and sits all day. She is desirous to see her beautiful eyes, as I to adorn myself with my hands: she is satisfied with seeing, and me, with work.')

We should approach this dream through the earlier ones. Some commentators take Canto IX as beginning with the dawn in Italy, which is nine hours ahead of time on Purgatory, so opening with Aurora, who though she is called the concubine, was actually the lover who transformed the human Tithonus. But the allusion may even better be read as the moon, as the concubine, coming up, not over Italy, but over Purgatory. This makes the cold moon ambiguous, especially as she is supplemented by the sign of the scorpion, which is the cause of fear (Revelation 9. 5; it was seen before with Gerione, *Inferno*, XVII. 25, 27), like a castrating female in a male fantasy. So double, so armed, she begins the evocation of a series of four rapes, four forms of deception: female rape of a man (Aurora or the moon/Tithonus), male rape of a woman (Philomela by Tereus), male rape of a male, where the rapist seems like the father (Ganymede by Jupiter), female rape of the son (Achilles by Thetis, which involves the male becoming female). And female rape is also a possibility within the dream of the Siren, if the Siren is Circe. Since, in the third dream, the solitary woman gathering flowers and singing anticipates Matelda who reminds Dante of the rape of Proserpine, each dream evokes a violent potential. Since Leah in the dream also mirrors Dante, it seems that gender is destabilized, making Dante male and female, active and passive.

The first dream is introduced by the sadness of the swallow's songs (*guai*), perhaps in memory of her 'primi guai' (first woes, IX. 15); in the second, the Siren sings, in the last, the woman sings, and her fulfilment in Matelda's singing recalling the primal scene of rape.[6] *Guai* recalls the lament of *Inferno*, V. 46, which

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[6] On Matelda, see Singleton, *Journey to Beatrice*, pp. 204–21; J. C. Barnes, 'Dante's Matelda, pp. 1–9; Peter Armour, 'Matelda in Eden', pp. 2–27; Peter S. Hawkins, 'Watching Matelda', in *Poetry of Allusion*, ed. by Jacoff and Schnapp, pp. 181–201; Jerome Mazzaro, 'The Vernal Paradox: Dante's Matelda', *Dante Studies*, 110 (1992), 107–20. Matelda's name in one way is not significant: it comes too late. Since she seems not to know Dante (ll. 82–84) and to be not specifically related to him in her words and action, her name does not seem to evoke someone within Dante's own life. Nothing is said of her that connects her with a figure in history, so she is unlike Cato, though she also appears to be a guardian, like him. Pietro di Dante saw her as the Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115), whose mother was a Beatrice. She was friend of Pope Gregory VII; at her castle at Canossa in 1077 Emperor Henry IV submitted to him; she donated her possessions to the Papacy, by which the Church claimed much of its temporal dominions.

evokes the sufferings of the lustful; now it is applied to the swallow, as emblematic of the raped. Tereus on raping Philomela was compared to an eagle taking a hare (*Met.*, VI. 514–18); as if recalling that, the eagle seizes Dante. The burning associated with the first dream returns in the fire of *Purgatorio* XXVII, which is like a womb ('alvo', l. 25; cf. XXVI. 148). Virgil called the souls of *Purgatorio* 'color che son contenti | nel fuoco' (those that are content in the fire, *Inf.*, I. 118–19). The first dream anticipates the seventh cornice; enduring the violence of rape and sexual yearning associate together, giving the first dream the quality of the last cornice. But it is not final, because it leads into a further dream. The affect in the first dream leaves perception incomplete ('mi parea', ll. 19, 22, 28, 31; 'forse', ll. 25, 26), and embodies fear of sexual violence which culminates in mutual burning. It is replaced by the narration that Dante has been transported by Lucia. Perception is double, giving both violence, and, in the first two dreams, the power of the sustaining woman, as with the 'donna […] sante e presta' (XIX. 26). In the third dream, the woman who sings is followed by Matelda who images Proserpine, but another woman in the dream, Rachel, unseen, has a doubling, and ambiguous effect. Beatrice, in Canto XXX, lines 133–35, declares herself author of Dante's dreams, but perhaps the ambiguity of these dreams that she inspired is the point: a fearful dream of the eagle has as its 'reality' Lucia bringing Dante up the mountain; the dream of the Siren ends with Virgil saying that he has been calling Dante, both perceptions being the opposite of the dream.

Passing through the fire is the most intense experiencing of an affective state. For it to happen, Virgil must make a speech, which tests his power over Dante: appealing to him on the basis of his intellect in telling him to remember, appealing to the irascible part of his sensitive soul in telling him to put away fear (l. 31) and to the concupiscent in mentioning Beatrice (l. 36). The reference to the fire as a wall (l. 37) between him and Beatrice produces the Ovidian comparison, derived from a later moment in the narrative of Pyramus and Thisbe than the description of the wall which separated those lovers:

> Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio
> Piramo in su la morte, e riguardolla,
> allor che 'l gelso diventò vermiglio,
>   così, la mia durezza fatta solla,
> mi volsi al savio duca, udendo il nome
> che ne la mente sempre mi rampolla.
>
>   (ll. 37–42)

(As at the name of Thisbe, Pyramus opened his eyes in death, and looked at her, when the mulberry became red, so, my hardness made soft, I turned towards the wise leader, hearing the name that always springs up in the mind.)

The story comes from the desire of one of the daughters of Minyas in Thebes to tell how the mulberry tree, which once had borne white fruit, now has fruit that is dark red. This produces the narrative of the Babylonian lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe (*Met.*, IV. 51–166), first separated by a wall, and then by death, as though the reality of being in love was separation.[7] The blood spurts from Pyramus's wound and stains the tree, as the first metamorphosis; when Thisbe speaks to the dying Pyramus before she masculinizes herself to kill herself (the second metamorphosis), he lifts his eyes: both actions being echoed in Dante's verb *rampolla*. Virgil mentioning Beatrice's *nome* (the word is repeated) is like Thisbe calling Pyramus.

Yet the mulberry become red means also the heart which is, paradoxically, bloodied, because the mulberry is the soft fruit: in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (III. 2. 79–80), Volumnia refers to 'the ripest mulberry | That will not hold the handling'. The soft, heart-like mulberry contrasts with Dante's 'durezza' (l. 40). In Canto XXXIII, lines 67–69, Beatrice evokes Pyramus again, saying that Dante's vain thoughts and their delight have been 'un Piramo alla gelsa' — Pyramus at the mulberry. He has stained his thoughts, like Pyramus's blood the tree; the effect has been a blinding.[8] The same *terzina* says his thoughts have been like the waters of Elsa, which have the power to petrify: a moment later she says that his mind is turned to stone and cannot see (XXXIII. 73, 74). The thought adds to the masculinity implicit in Dante's state, during Virgil's appeal, 'fermo e contra coscienza' (firm and [standing] against conscience/self-consciousness, XXVII. 33), and 'fermo e duro' (l. 34), which leads to the word 'durezza' (ll. 27, 40). During Virgil's appeal, Dante remained insensible, hardened, and blinded, until Beatrice was named. Now, a new affective and feminine state is reached.

In the third dream, Leah is a single yet plural figure, since she involves Rachel in her speech. She resolves figures from the previous day: Barański compares Leah and Rachel with Forese Donati's account of his wife, Nella, praying for him, and his sister, Piccarda, in Paradise.[9] She anticipates Matelda, 'una donna soletta' (XXVIII. 40), which phrase quotes from Cavalcanti's shepherdess, in the *balata*

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[7] On this episode, see Don Fowler, 'Pyramus, Thisbe, King Kong: Ovid and the Presence of Poetry', in *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 156–67.

[8] On the imagery, see Maristella Lorch and Lavinia Lorch, 'Metaphor and Metamorphosis: *Purgatorio* 27 and *Metamorphoses* 4', in *Dante and Ovid*, ed. by Sowell, pp. 99–122. See also *Purgatorio*, trans. by Durling and Martinez, pp. 618–20.

[9] Barański, 'Dante's Three Reflective Dreams', p. 220.

(no. 46): 'In un boschetto trova' pasturella': she is 'sola sola'. It is another part of the ambiguity within Cavalcanti's text, which here activates the dream-vision. Leah's singing is also Cavalcantian. While allegorical, implying the overcoming of the seven capital vices through the power of the moral virtues, she speaks as if in a riddle about herself, and about Rachel, who, as the other allegorical figure, is not visible. (Rachel was associated with Beatrice in *Inferno*, II. 102.) Coming out of the allegorizations of Gregory the Great, Richard of St Victor († 1173) had evoked Leah and Rachel in *Benjamin Minor*, focusing on their children: the birth of Benjamin being the death of Rachel and illustrating the idea that the fruits of contemplation destroy the intelligence and wisdom that contemplates. (Richard of St Victor, according to Dante's Aquinas, 'a considerar fu piú che viro': in contemplation was more than man, *Para.*, X. 132.) Michelangelo in the 1540s made statues for Julius II's tomb, portraying the Active and Contemplative Lives, inspired, according to Michelangelo's biographer, Condivi, from Dante. But these images make Rachel conventual, a figure of faith with eyes uplifted, while Leah looks downward, as more like Charity. And indeed, Contemplation was associated with the monastic life in the sphere of Saturn (*Paradiso* XXI and XXII), but here, contemplation is not melancholic and ascetic, but erotic, marked by the woman looking in her glass. While in the fire, Virgil had invoked Beatrice's eyes, saying he seemed to see them (l. 54; cf. ll. 136–37). But in the dream, as if independent of all others, Rachel looks at her own eyes (l. 106).

The active life Leah speaks of metamorphoses into gathering flowers for a garland; anticipating Virgil's last words to Dante, concluding 'per ch'io te sovra te corono e mitrio' (I crown and mitre you over yourself, l. 142). That recalls how Canto I ended, binding Dante with the rush of humility. There is a connection between Leah's flowers and the grass, flowers, and shrubs which the earth 'da sè produce'. Virgil's tribute: 'libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio' (free, upright and healthy is your will, l. 140 — recalling Canto I, line 71) associates Leah's spontaneity with Dante. And line 142, which Robert Durling and Ronald Martinez (*Purgatorio*, p. 473) compare with the self-conflictual line of Pier delle Vigne, whose suicide makes him 'me contra me' (*Inf.*, XIII. 72), also contrasts with the a line which has already been quoted, and which is strange in that it is not a sentence, but is left as as though it were 'E io pur fermo e contra coscienza' (XXVII. 33). The self which will not move does so against all testimony of the self, all self-consciousness. The turn in the canto is from that obduracy to the last words of Virgil, and the change is wrought by a new affect, where the heart becomes like the mulberry, and which is imaged in the softness of the third dream.

Leah's flowers are virtues with which she adorns herself in front of the mirror, instead of looking at her eyes, like Rachel. The flowers supplement her eyes (which Genesis 29. 17 calls 'tender'). Rachel never turns away from her mirror (not *specchio*, but here *miraglio*, derived from Provencal *mirahl*), and this language recalls Mary, complement to Martha, sitting at the feet of Jesus (Luke 10. 38–42). Perhaps *specchio* draws attention to observation, while *miraglio*, is associated with looking in wonder (*OED* compares the Latin *mirari* with 'miracle'). Philosophy in *Convivio* is

> amoroso uso di sapienza se medesima riguarda, quando apparisce la bellezza de li occhi suoi a lei; che altro non è a dire, se non che l'anima filosofante non solamente contempla essa veritate, ma ancora contempla lo suo contemplare medesimo e la bellezza di quello, rivolgendosi sovra se stessa e di se stessa innamorando per la bellezza del suo primo guardare.

> (the amorous use of wisdom that so looks at itself, when the beauty of her lord's eyes appears to her. This is to say nothing if not that the philosophic soul does not only contemplate the truth, but also contemplates its contemplation itself, and the beauty of that, turning back upon itself, and loving itself on account of the beauty of its first gaze.)[10]

In *Rime*, no. 69, 'Le dolci rime d'amor', Dante calls on 'quel signore | ch'a la mia donna ne li occhi dimora | per ch'ella di se stessa s'innamora' (that lord who dwells in my lady's eyes, and thus makes her in love with herself, ll. 18–20). The 'signore' is said to be Truth (*Convivio*, IV. 2. 17). As a 'signore', he dwells in the eyes, so that Rachel when she sees herself in the mirror, sees that truth, which thus fuses the masculine and the feminine. Rachel sees the truth — it is reflected in her eyes — and via the mirror she turns back upon herself self-reflexively, to admire the truth in her eyes, and so loves herself on account of what she

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[10] *Convivio*, IV. 2. 18; cf. *Convivio*, III. 11. 5. Lansing's edition (p. 153) and Singleton in his notes for *Purg.*, XXVII. 106, translate 'quando apparisce la bellezza de li occhi suoi a lei' as 'when the beauty of her eyes is revealed to herself'; Ryan's edition (p. 126) translates it as 'when she catches sight of the beauty of her lord's eyes'. Eyes arouse love in the canzone 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' (*Vita nuova*, XIX. 51–54), which draws on Cavalcanti's 'Chi è questa che ven' (*Complete Poems*, trans. by Cirigliano, no. 4, pp. 10–11). In *Rime*, no. 60, 'Voi che savete ragionar d'Amore', Dante writes of the lady withholding her gaze, and indeed her eyes, 'per vederli per sé quando le piace | a questa guisa retta donna face | quando si mira per volere onore' (to look at them herself when she chooses, in the fashion a virtuous woman has when she looks at herself out of a desire for honour, ll. 18–20). Foster and Boyde (*Dante's Lyric Poetry*, II, 170–73) interpret these lines through *Convivio*, III. 15, and III. 8. 6–13, in which latter passage the eyes and the mouth are the lady's balconies, and form an interpretation of *Rime*, no. 61 'Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona' (ll. 55–72). Eyes demonstrate, the mouth persuades.

sees.[11] The passage develops *Purgatorio*, XXV. 75, which says of the soul, 'che vive e sente e sé in sé regira'. The intellective soul 'circles on itself'. *Purgatorio* XXIII and XXIV conceptualized poetry as truth-giving, in an outgoing of the self (not taking into the self, as with gluttony); but in Canto XXV, the soul becomes self-aware, and the poetry of Canto XXVI is not outgoing, hence there is no erotic contact, the souls being single, but rather poetry insists within the self, hence Dante's new state: 'sanza udire e dir pensoso andai' (without hearing or speaking I walked thinking, XXVI. 100–01).

In the third dream, Dante looks at himself through Leah, who speaks of Rachel, acting as a mirror whereby she can be seen. If Dante is Leah, that succeeds the feminizations in the first dream (the soul as Ganymede, the soul as Achilles changed into a woman), and follows a typology whereby the woman is the figure of that which is double, plural.[12] If Rachel is the truth that sees itself as truth — but which sees plurality in seeing her *two* eyes, she is not by that separate from another duality which includes Leah.

Matelda

Virgil commented on the earlier two dreams, but not this. Interpretation comes in Canto XXVIII. Dante moves into the wood, as in *Inferno* I he had moved out of it, and another specular image from Canto I follows as the 'rio' of line 25 impedes him as the 'lonza' had before, and like the 'lonza', in an attractively deceptive form, fitting with the various diminutives of the language of this canto. The canto's atmosphere suggests the Roman Floralia (28 April to 3 May: May was named after Maia, mother of Mercury (*Fasti*, V. 73, 426), whose month is May). Dante looks across the stream 'per mirare | la gran varïazion d'i freschi mai' (ll. 35, 36) — to see the great variety of fresh blossoms; 'mai' refers to the may-branches and blossoms put at doors and windows on May Day. His gaze centres on Matelda, who surprises, both because as an Edenic figure she replaces Adam and Eve, and because her associations, from Calvancantian love poetry, are sexual.

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[11] Lacan's 'mirror stage' emphasizes that the see-er identifies with the image seen, and receives identity from that. But Lacan emphasizes split identity: the one that looks knows that he is not what he sees. That is the birth of desire, the sense of inner distance from the image with which that is identified. Rachel sees both an image of her self, and an image of difference, in the masculine figure of the 'signore' (*Écrits*, trans. by Bruce Fink (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 75–81).

[12] See Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*, trans. by Barbara Harlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

Patrick Boyde argues that rather than thinking that Leah is fulfilled in Matelda and Rachel in Beatrice, Beatrice represents the fully transhumanized, while, as exemplifying human perfections, Leah and Rachel are subsumed in Matelda.[13] Leah and Rachel are sisters, but they are dual aspects of one soul, who, like Jacob (Genesis 29. 16–28) must possess both. The Cytherean, Leah, and Rachel are feminine potentialities. Matelda continues Dante's dream, but supplements its significances as she appears:

> una donna soletta che si gia
> e cantando e scegliendo fior da fiore
> ond'era pinta tutta la sua via.
>   'Deh, bella donna, che a' raggi d'amore
> ti scaldi, s'i'vo' credere a' sembianti
> che soglion esser testimon del core,
>   vegnati in voglia di trarreti avanti'
> diss'io a lei, 'verso questa rivera,
> tanto ch'io possa intender che tu canti.
>   Tu mi fai rimembrar dove e qual era
> Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
> la madre lei, ed ella primavera.'
>
>   (ll. 40–51)

(a lady alone, who went forward, singing and gathering flower upon flower with which was painted all her pathway. 'Ah, beautiful woman, who warms yourself in the rays of love, if I may believe appearances, which used to give testimony to the heart, may it please you to come forward', I said to her, 'towards this river, so that I may hear what you sing. You make me remember where and what Proserpine was in the time that her mother lost her, and she lost the spring.')

The woman transcends Proserpine, for in neither the *Metamorphoses* nor the *Fasti* is Proserpine singing when she is raped, but it will be recalled, from Canto I, that the narrative of her rape is given in song by Calliope, in the singing contest with the daughters of Pierus. If Matelda's song evokes the Muses, it also includes Proserpine. The power of song, the 'dolce suono' (l. 59), which works with another phrase, 'dolce gioco' (sweet play, l. 96), recalls the *dolce stil*, and Casella's song, which so affronted Cato, whose opposite Matelda is. Yet the lines contain the sense of loss, which Peter Armour discusses, saying that in the last line 'lei' and 'ella' both refer to Proserpine, first as object of 'perdette' and then as subject of it, but implying, in the ambiguity,

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[13] Boyde, *Perception and Passion*, pp. 138–39.

a quadruple loss: a daughter has lost a mother and a mother a daughter; the daughter has lost her spring, her flowers, her virginity, and the mother, too, in losing her daughter, has lost spring. In the allegory earth loses spring and spring leaves the earth; the cycle of the seasons has begun.[14]

'Primavera' in *Paradiso*, XXX. 63, is a metonym for flowers. Milton's Proserpine is 'a fairer flower' than the flowers she gathered (*Paradise Lost*, IV. 270); the loss of the woman is traced in the flowers she let fall, but here there seems a doubling: the woman is present but reminds Dante of the power of loss. She recalls Proserpine in the same way that Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* does in Perdita's speech: 'O Proserpina | Now, for the flowers that, frighted, thou let'st fall | From Dis's wagon' (IV. 4. 116–18). In *Metamorphoses*, I. 341–661, Proserpine spills the flowers she has gathered as she is taken off. The spring flowers, wherewith Matelda's path is strewn, result from her being carried off by Dis. Proserpina's loss of her 'spring' produces the spring: spring flowers spring from rape. The woman gathering flowers recalls Proserpine, and the return of Proserpine, and the earth after Proserpine has gone.

Another absence is evoked in the *terzina* 49–51: the mother. Proserpine's mother (Ceres) has lost her and she (grammatically, either Proserpine or Ceres) has lost the spring. Dante's lines telling the woman that she makes him remember where and what Proserpina was in the time that her mother lost her and she lost the spring have plural effects. Like the swallow's song recalling 'primi guai', the man remembers what he has not known; both a place and a person (Proserpine) never before evoked in memory, and Proserpine's mother's loss. Previous poets writing of the innocence of the Golden Age, dreamed 'in Parnaso' (l. 141) of this place. Dreaming and writing poetry, which dreams of the Earthly Paradise, are similar.[15] Dante says that the place makes him think of where Proserpina was when she lost the spring. Dante's remembrance, which is not literal, is like the poets' dream, fusing remembrance and poetic vision — both entailed in dreaming, when the mind 'a le sue visïon quasi è divina' (IX. 18).

The woman evokes both Proserpine and her mother. Perhaps something of the mother is suggested in the Cavalcantian word 'nido' (l. 78). Proserpine is a plural

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[14] Peter Armour, 'Purgatorio XXVIII', in *Dante Commentaries: Eight Studies of the 'Divine Comedy'*, ed. by David Nolan (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1977), 115–41 (p. 131).

[15] The Earthly Paradise is Eden, and different from it; not just a return to the past. And dreaming of the woman and dreaming of the golden age are linked: the garden of love is associated with the Earthly Paradise, as in *Le Roman de la rose*. See A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 60–67; see also pp. 94–122.

figure in her association with the underworld, as 'la donna che qui regge' (*Inf.*, x. 80). This, making her the queen, gives her associations like those of the mother, just as the mother is dimly present in the first dream (Achilles taken by his mother, Thetis, to Scyros) and in the protective woman of *Purgatorio*, XIX. 26. Canto XXVIII carries within it the trace of loss of the mother, even if the mother is also a shadow, there and not there. The absent mother is one sign of mourning. It seems also to hold the trace of Cavalcanti, recollecting him, perhaps even mourning him, through 'In un boschetto trova' pasturella'. That began with the woman more beautiful than the stars ('più che la stella' — alluding to her eyes, a line quoted of Beatrice in *Inferno*, II. 55), and it ends with the male lover seeing 'fior d'ogni colore' (flowers of every colour) as his confrontation with her is also with the 'die d'amore' (god of love). Encounter with the woman means also the encounter with the male god.[16] Star, eyes, and flowers seem to integrate. The last word of Canto XXVIII, line 51, quoted already, recalls Giovanna, the lady of Guido Cavalcanti, who is seen and is called 'Primavera' ('cioè prima verra lo die che Beatrice si mosterrà dopo lo imaginazione del suo fidele' — because she will come first the day that Beatrice will show herself after the imagination of her faithful one — *Vita nuova*, 24. 4).[17] This Giovanna relates to Giovanni (John the Baptist), the forerunner of Christ, with the power to make Beatrice comparable to Amor, as Amor says himself. Giovanna produces from Dante the sonnet written to Cavalcanti, 'Io mi senti' svegliar dentro a lo core', with which that particular section of *Vita nuova* closes. It strengthens the sense that Cavalcanti haunts these cantos, that he is also in what is lost in referring to 'primavera'. Beatrice's words concerning Dante's 'vita nova' (XXX. 115) do more than recall his youth, his 'età novella' (*Convivio*, IV. 19. 9). They signal the *Vita nuova*, where Cavalcanti and Dante and Giovanna and Beatrice had another life. The *Vita nuova* had been implicit in the *Purgatorio* since Dante's incipit 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' (XXIV. 51) from the *Vita nuova* was cited, and not by Dante but, dialogically, by Bonagiunta, as if he were trying out how it sounds. The *Vita nuova* as remembered joins with Beatrice's speeches (XXX. 73–75, 103–45, XXXIII. 22–63) about his past life and make these cantos a mourning for both the book and the life it evoked. As Matelda evokes Proserpine, and the loss of spring, so the words *vita nova* associate with spring and innocence. The character who says that

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[16] For echoes of Cavalcanti, see Barolini, *Dante's Poets*, pp. 148–53.

[17] Foster and Boyde, *Dane's Lyric Poetry*, II, 122, point out that Giovanna does not appear in Cavalcanti's verses but that his poems play on the *senhal* 'Primavera': see no. 1 'Fresca rosa novella | piacente primavera'.

Matelda makes him think of Proserpine unconsciously makes himself as a lost Proserpine, mourning himself.

The canto brings in 'l'ore *prime*' (l. 16) — the first 'aura', or breath of wind, or perhaps the first hour. It suggests the '*prima* volta' (l. 104) — the heavenly sphere which is turned first — while Matelda concludes with the lines, which compensate for the earlier loss of the '*prima*vera':

> Qui fu innocente l'umana radice;
> qui primavera sempre e ogne frutto;
> nettare è questo di che ciascun dice.
> <div align="right">(ll. 142–44)</div>

> (Here the human root was innocent; here is spring always and every fruit; the nectar is here of which everyone speaks.)

Matelda quotes *Metamorphoses*, part of the account of 'l'età de l'oro' that appears in Book I, lines 90–112: 'ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris | mulcebant zephyri natos sine semine flores' (Then spring was everlasting, and gentle zephyrs with warm breath played with the flowers that sprang unplanted, I. 107–08). She cites Ovid in a tribute to 'quelli ch' anticamente poetaro' — those who in old times sang, which includes Statius and Virgil, and, perhaps, even, Cavalcanti. The word 'anticamente' (l. 140) recalls 'la selva antica' (l. 23), and unites with 'primavera'.[18]

When Matelda turns towards Dante, dancing upon the crimson and yellow flowers (XXVIII. 55, 56) colours which Leonardi aligns with Guinizzelli (*Rime*, X. 6), she approaches him, with lowered eyes. She embodies the modesty referred to in the *Convivio* (IV. 25. 7, 8), a text which cites *Thebaid*, I. 529–39; so that she accords with the writers of the *Thebaid* and the *Convivio*, both standing before her. Then, her eyes shine, in an image of truth (ll. 62 and 63), recalling Rachel; the image is presented through a reference to *Metamorphoses*, X. 525–28, when Venus, grazed with Cupid's arrow, falls in love with Adonis. Eyes and smile go together, as at *Convivio*, III. 15. 2. The eyes, concealed by eyelids, which are then revealed shining, have been compared to the sun's partial concealment by the forest, in a pattern of revelation and veiling which runs throughout the canto, give it its

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[18] For the extensions of 'Primavera' into Botticelli, see Charles Dempsey, '*Mercurius Ver*: The Sources of Botticelli's *Primavera*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 251–73. See also Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). For a Neoplatonist reading, see Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 113–27.

ambiguity.[19] Matelda stands on the bank, so emphasizing her nearness to Dante, arranging in her hands the colours that the land 'sanza seme gitta' (brings forth without seed, l. 69): fusing, like everything else here, contradictory ideas of fertility and the non-sexual, certainly the non-male-centred sexual. Her nearness is contradicted by the river which is only three paces wide:

> ma Elesponto, là 've passò Serse,
> ancora freno a tutti orgogli umani,
>   più odio da Leandro non sofferse
> per mareggiare intra Sesto e Abido,
> che quel da me perch'allor non s'aperse.
>
> (ll. 71–75)

(But Hellespont, where Xerxes passed, still a bridle to all human pride, did not suffer more hatred from Leander for its waves between Sestos and Abydos, than from me, because it did not open then.)

Xerxes recalls the examples of pride in *Purgatorio*, as does the word *freno*, meaning, here, 'the river'. Xerxes is discussed in *Monarchia*, II. 8. 7, with a quotation from Lucan (*Pharsalia*, II. 672–75), and the unavailing bridge is called a wonderful work ('operis admirabilis'). Leander's 'odio', the subject of *Heroides* XVIII and XIX, is directed as reckless anger against the prideful swelling (*mareggiare*) of the Hellespont between Sestos (Greece) and Abydos (Asia Minor), which he wishes to cross, in a different direction from Xerxes and with another motivation. Both crossings, one suggesting the third, the other the seventh cornice, are transgressive and evoke masculine failure. The last line, in contrast, suggests the Red Sea, and its opening up of itself. Matelda's words, directed towards the newness of the arrivals, and accompanied by laughter, suggests her otherness, her difference, a theme continued in the riddling reference she makes to Psalm 92. 4 (Vulgate, 91). When Dante crosses the water, it will be through Matelda, drawing him across (XXXIII. 91–105). While she has been looked at, now she looks at Dante (ll. 82–84). Her last lines are the *corollario* she offers 'per grazia' (l. 136); a gift given that was unexpected, and with a surprise meaning for Virgil and Statius. The *corollario* vindicates poetry and feeling, as intuitional, as a longing for the gift; the corolla goes further than the crowning which concludes Canto XXVII, because here it is spontaneous, metaphorically linked to the flowers that are gathered for crowning.

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[19] Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, '*Purgatorio* XXVIII: Catharsis and Paradisal Visions as States of Dynamic Equilibrium', *Neophilologus*, 65 (1981), 222–31 (p. 225).

Narcissus

The connection between the dream and the mirror, both forms of specular knowing, is crucial in medieval literature, making it unsurprising to find a mirror within a dream, as with Rachel. Looking into a mirror and being in a dream both give self-knowledge, while the mirror also gives knowledge about the world, for every part of the world is a mirror.[20] In *Le Roman de la rose*, the dreaming lover, Amant, in the garden, finds the fountain of Narcissus under a pine. He approaches it, after the story of Narcissus has been narrated, and sees within it two crystal stones, mirrors for everything that is in the garden, which there is seen complete. It is called the Fountain of Love, because 'out of this mirror a new madness comes upon men' and Amant laments that he has been caught by that deceiving mirror, for he sees the Rose in the reflection of these crystals.[21] Perhaps the waters of the fountain are themselves the eyes of Amant, with the crystals the inner eye.[22] These image, or reflect, his own eyes which the lover is therefore looking at, Narcissus-like; and as both singular and plural, crystal and crystals, there is the sense that what is meant is to show the power of vision. In the self, vision mirrors the whole world, but makes that world a specular image of the one who looks. In Lacan's sense of the 'mirror stage', the identity of the one who looks comes from identification with that specular image, so that there is a fundamental unreality in the image that is looked at and in the identity that has identified with what it sees in the mirror. Ovid's Narcissus (*Met.*, III. 339–510) never knows he is only in love with an image: he loves an insubstantial hope and thinks that substance which is only shadow ('spem sine corpore amat, corpus putat esse, quod

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[20] See Stephen Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 136–39, and his 'Mirrors and the Trajectory of Vision in *Piers Plowman*', *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 74–95. See also Edward Peter Nolan, *Now Through a Glass Darkly: Specular Images of Being and Knowing from Virgil to Chaucer* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), and Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. by Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Grabes examines the significance of the 'speculum' within book titles after 1200: there is a new sense of the subject as there to be looked at, and of the world as a mirror. And the book is a mirror: reflecting things as they are, showing the way things should be, and will be, and what only exists in the mirror or in the writer's imagination (p. 39).

[21] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. by Charles Dahlberg (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1983), ll. 1425–1680, pp. 50–53.

[22] Kenneth J. Knoespel, *Narcissus and the Invention of Personal History* (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 66–104. See also John V. Fleming, *The 'Roman de la rose': A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 92–97.

umbra est', *Met.* III. 417). And since the lover sees the crystal within the crystalline water, and that is what holds everything within vision, there is the sense that the self looks because it has already been looked at, that it has been constituted within a field of vision. Lacan follows Merleau-Ponty in speaking of 'the pre-existence of a gaze — I see only from one point, but in my existence I am looked at from all sides'.[23]

The Jardin de Déduit of the *Roman de la rose* becomes the Earthly Paradise, with its stream which bathes the grass (XXVIII. 62), which recalls the fountain coming up new from two cavernous conduits: 'All around, the short grass springs up thick and close because of the water. In winter it cannot die, nor can the water stop flowing.'[24] The river of Canto XXVIII, which is Lethe, and which resonates with Guinizzelli's reference to it (XXVI. 108), is now traced to its origin. Dante sees (XXXIII. 112–14) one fountain with two streams, the one Lethe, the other Eüonoè, coming from the source, while Matelda has already described the fountain in Canto XXVIII, lines 121–35, as a subject of desire, of thirst. Such thirsting for the fountain is associated with narcissism, with looking in the mirror, which itself is an ambiguous action, like that of the feminine Bellacoglienza in *Fiore*, 144. 2–4, where this woman seems to represent the beloved:

> immantenente lo spec[c]hi eb[b]e i.mmano,
> sì vide il viso suo umile e piano;
> per molte volte nello spec[c]hio guarda.

(Straightaway taking up the mirror, she caught sight of her soft and gentle face, and for much time looked in the mirror.)

It is not necessary to identify the Durante of the *Fiore* with Dante to see that Rachel in the mirror is a woman in love, like Matelda, who resembles Oiseuse (Leisure) in the *Roman* (she does not appear in the *Fiore*), the woman who welcomes the lover into the garden. Self-absorbed separation, which makes the woman all alone (XXIX. 4), is reinforced by the Cavalcantian line opening Canto XXIX: 'cantando come donna innamorata'. The woman becomes narcissistically complete, in her own world. The return of women to the text, after so long an absence (Sapia was the woman last seen, if the Siren and the dreams are excepted), affirms not only that the poet assumes the implications of entering into a feminine world, but that the feminine is still that which, as other, alone, narcissistic, challenges the male's complete knowledge.

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[23] Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts*, p. 72.

[24] *Roman de la rose*, ll. 1531–34; trans. by Dahlberg, p. 51.

What of the narcissism? The philosopher Pierre Hadot argues that Plotinus, who it will be remembered from Chapter 2, was one of those who gave the sense of how the individual person had come into being, opposed Narcissus, who draws attention to the body, to Ulysses, a figure of flight away from self-absorption. Arnold Davidson cites the Plotinus scholar R. Harder, who says, in contrast, that Ulysses is only an inverted Narcissus, and that the Plotinian ascent of the soul away from the body is 'autoerotic'. According to Davidson, 'Harder wondered whether Plotinus did not substitute for the complacency that led the soul to allow itself to be fascinated by its corporeal reflection another more subtle complacency, that of the beautiful soul for itself.'[25] Considering this, Davidson moves to Kristeva's *Tales of Love*, quoting her on 'the originality of the narcissistic figure and the very particular place it occupies, in the history of Western subjectivity'.[26] Using Hadot, Kristeva discusses Plotinus's *Enneads* for the sense that the soul's fascination with its corporeal reflection images its unawareness of being fallen; it is unaware that the world of sense is unreal. Kristeva agrees, however, with the view that sees the soul examining its own self is 'autoerotic'.[27] She then cites *Ennead*, I. 6. 9, as a 'masterful synthesis between the Platonic quest for ideal beauty and the autoeroticism of one's own images, which inevitably suggests Narcissus's:

> Withdraw within yourself and look. If you do not yet therein discover beauty, do as the sculptor, who cuts off, polishes, purifies until he has adorned his statue with all the marks of beauty. Remove from your own soul therefore, all that is superfluous, straighten out all that is crooked, cleanse what is obscure and make it resplendent, and do not cease sculpting your own statue until the divine resplendence of virtue shines forth [...]. Have you become thus? Do you see this? Do you purely dwell within yourself, without any obstacle to unity, does *nothing foreign anymore*, by its submixture, *alter the simplicity of your interior essence*? [...] [Y]ou shall then have become light itself [...]. Then must you observe carefully, for yours will be the only eye that is able to perceive supreme Beauty [...]. For the eye will first have to be rendered analogous and similar to the object it is to contemplate. Never would the eye have seen the sun unless first it had assumed its form.[28]

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[25] Arnold Davidson, 'Introduction', in Pierre Hadot, *Plotinus, or The Simplicity of Vision*, trans. by Michael Chase (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 9–11.

[26] Julia Kristeva, *Tales of Love*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 105.

[27] Kristeva, *Tales of Love*, p. 108.

[28] *Ennead*, I. 6. 9, quoted in Kristeva, *Tales of Love*, p. 108.

Her argument is that 'the soul is established through loving itself in the ideal', and the soul which is so loved is gendered as feminine. In Plotinus, 'Platonism topple[s] over into subjectivity.'[29]

Davidson thinks the contrary, for, as he quotes Hadot, as the soul is raised to the level of intellect:

> The Intellect, for Plotinus, is nothing other than the thinking of the All. It is precisely in reaching this level that the 'narcissistic' soul will be perfectly given up. Indeed, the soul passes from a vision that is partial, external, misleading and anguished to a vision that is total, internal, true and peaceful. To raise itself to the level of Intellect, of the thought of the All, is properly and precisely to surpass the limits of individuality, of that concern for the partial that brings on the state of narcissism of the soul. In the works of Plotinus, individuality and totality are radically opposed.[30]

Yet it is not to endorse the totalizing aspects of Kristeva's discourse, which are often troubling, to note the dangers in Hadot's sense of the totality, which Davidson underwrites, though — or when — Hadot says 'at the summit of this ascent, there is not so much an experience of self as an experience of an Other than self, an experience of oneself becoming Other, that is, of uniting with the One'.[31] The language of the 'All' and the 'One' and of the 'total' denies the difference of the Other, and means that the soul does not go out of itself, while the discourse of vision does not escape narcissism, when the soul remains constituted by its looking.

It seems possible to agree with Kristeva in finding narcissism constitutive of the idea of being absorbed by truth, even in *Purgatorio*'s line 'sé in sé regira' (XXV. 75), when the soul 'considers itself within itself'. In which case, two forms of narcissism are at work. The text requires a sense of the human; before beginning the ascent of the cornices, Dante is made to see himself 'qual io paio' (as I appear, IX. 94). That imaginary sense of self returns with the self who is 'crowned and mitred' over himself, which equally risks such self-absorption, indeed narcissism. If that implies that the masculine figure who has gone through the seven cornices has an imaginary completeness or autonomy, then the text then favours that over the fragmented subjectivity of those who are caught — and who forever exist, within the text — within one or another cornice. But that is not all that is to be said, for the self has also been changed, gaining something of the

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[29] Kristeva, *Tales of Love*, pp. 110, 117.

[30] Hadot, *Plotinus*, quoted in Davidson, 'Introduction', pp. 12–13.

[31] Hadot, *Plotinus*, quoted in Davidson, 'Introduction', pp. 13–14.

feminine. In encountering Matelda, in a moment giving a sense of loss, there is the disconfirmation of the self in the face of the narcissistic woman.

Subjectivity Made and Unmade

Dante sees himself, reflected in the water, as in a mirror (XXIX. 67–69), when the vision of bright lights advances, followed by people clad in white. From then on, mirroring becomes a source of shame to him when he looks in the water again under the eye of Beatrice (XXX. 76–78), just as the sight of her, as an absolute, and different from Matelda, vanquishes him (XXXIII. 67–90). Each figure in the pageant responds to each other in the same way that figures of the Bible stand in relation to Beatrice. So, when Dante has crossed Lethe, his eyes are bound to Beatrice's shining eyes, which are fixed on the griffin, while the griffin in its dual nature shines in her eyes, changing its nature in image (*idolo*) but not in reality (XXXI. 118–26).[32] The canto ends with Beatrice unveiling her eyes, an image recalling Rachel, and the eyes are followed by the smile (XXXII. 5). Finally, Beatrice leads Dante to the fountain, which makes him call her 'O luce, o gloria della gente umana' (XXXIII. 115); the fountain of water conjoins with fountains of light from her eyes; suggesting that Rachel was looking at the source in looking in the mirror, as Dante was when fixing his gaze on Beatrice (XXXII. 1–3).[33]

A further mirroring is that Dante's faults, the subject of Cantos XXX and XXXI, and reverted to in XXXIII. 31–102, are inseparable from the fortunes of the tree and the chariot, presented, pageant-like, in Canto XXXII. These changes finish with the harlot and the giant, and Dante watches until he becomes personally involved when the harlot (*puttana*) turns her eyes on him. This episode enforces the connections between the two 'falls', Dante's personal fall, and the historical fall, symbolized in Canto XXXII. The intertwining is emphasized in Beatrice demanding that Dante should write (XXXII. 104–05, XXXIII. 52–57, 73–78):

[32] For 'reggimenti' (XXXI. 23) as 'regime', making the griffin the symbol of Rome in its two forms of regime, see Peter Armour, *Dante's Griffin and the History of the World: A Study of the Earthly Paradise (Purgatorio, Cantos XXIX–XXXIII)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 173, 66.

[33] H. Wayne Storey, 'Canto XXXII: The Parallel Histories', in *Lectura Dantis: Purgatorio*, ed. by Mandelbaum, Oldcorn, and Ross, pp. 360–77 (p. 372), finds in the opening of Canto XXXII echoes of Cavalcanti's discussions of 'spiriti' and 'spiritelli' 'often in imbalance owing to the experience of intense love'. He refers to 'Poi che di doglia cor conven ch'i porti' (no. 11) and to 'Pegli occhi fere un spirito sottile' (no. 28).

describing both falls.[34] The *puttana* looks at Dante with 'occhio cupido e vagante' (XXXII. 154), words recalling the cornice of avarice, which was the place where Philip the Fair — this pageant's giant — was spoken of. As her eyes look around 'intorno pronte' (XXXII. 150), they contrast with Rachel's and Matelda's eyes, and evoke the Siren, and the fourth cornice. They recall Dante's 'unfaithfulness' to Beatrice, which is expressed in terms of turning to women, whether literally or in allegorical, dreamlike terms. These charges of falseness and faithlessness appear in Canto XXX, line 128, 'imagini di ben seguendo false' (following false images of good, XXX. 131), in Dante's confession (XXXI. 34–36), and the evocation of the Sirens (XXXI. 45). They reappear with the 'pargoletta | o altra vanità (young woman or other vanity, XXXI. 59–60) — a line resonating with the cornice of pride. They appear, too, in the suggestion that his mind is stone-like (XXXIII. 73–74). The sexual implication behind being turned to stone, was discussed, in relation to Aglauros, in Chapter 6, and implies a context of envy.

Canto XXXII is the longest in the *Commedia*, and the most conflictual; its episodes being so much a mosaic of quotations from other parts of *Purgatorio*, dreamlike fragments which indicate that narcissistic male wholeness is but a fantasy, and that the self can neither be separated from what is past, nor can think there is no new affect to be moved into. Beatrice tells Dante to fix his eyes upon the 'carro' and to write what he sees. 'Vidi' (I saw, l. 112) testifies to the thunderbolt with which the eagle sweeps down on the tree: the vision recalls the language of the first dream (IX. 28–30), giving to this episode the effect of a rape, while the despoiling of the tree, including its 'foglie nove' (new leaves, l. 114), recalls the loss of Proserpine and Dante's 'vita nova'. 'Vidi' (l. 118) testifies to the starving she-fox, who recalls the opening of Canto XX, and the context of avarice. If Beatrice makes the fox depart, does that imply her partial power over Dante, even after her death? Is the gender of the fox significant, that it implies the power of the affective? 'Vidi' returns for the third vision, of the return of the eagle (l. 125), and in the fourth (l. 131), where the dragon comes up from the earth, as from unconscious depths, but this time with the words 'Poi parve a me' (it seemed to me, l. 130); there seems a sign, perhaps, of a loss of ability to read the vision.

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[34] See Peter Dronke on Canto XXIX and Kenelm Foster on Canto XXXII in *Cambridge Readings in Dante's 'Comedy'*, ed. by Foster and Boyde, pp. 114–37, 138–54. Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory*, follows Armour's analysis, pp. 179–211, and faces the familiar problems of interpretation; see also R. E. Kaske, 'The Seven *Status Ecclesiae* in *Purgatorio* XXXII and XXXIII', in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio*, ed. by Bernardo and Pellegrini, pp. 89–114. See also Peter Dronke, *Dante and Medieval Latin Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 55–81.

The 'tail' of the dragon, which has phallic significance, and is 'maligna' (the word appeared in XXX. 118), evokes the scorpion's tail noted before the first dream. The double 'vago vago' (l. 133) which Singleton renders 'gloatingly', echoes in the description of the eye of the *puttana* (l. 154). The chariot's transformations culminate in the sight of her as the only human in these visions: that she 'appeared' to Dante makes the vision seem more personal, more subjective. 'Vidi' (l. 152) opens the sixth vision as the giant beats her. The woman's glances across to Dante have been rewarded; that is followed by the loosening of the now monstrous chariot from the tree (where the griffin had anchored it) and dragging it off. She is called a thief (XXXIII. 57), while the giant's action at the end is also theft. Disappearance into the wood (*selva*) at the end evokes the wood of *Inferno*, I. 1–3, or such language as XIV. 64–66; no longer the divine forest of XXVIII. 2, it implies confusion, madness, and subjectivity fragmented.

Unlike other figures in the visions, the giant is not drawn from the Bible, as the *puttana* comes from Revelation 17. Giants appeared in *Inferno* XXXI; Antaeus lowers Virgil and Dante down into the ninth circle (*Inf.*, XXXI. 112–45), but despite Genesis 6. 4, giants are less biblical than classical and medieval. The giant is monstrous; and the references in Canto XII, lines 27–36, and his suspicion and rage recall the first three cornices. The episode replays the avarice addressed in Cantos XIX and XX, and recalls the imagery of *Inferno*, XIX. 100–14. While the *puttana*'s beating invokes an historical violation, perhaps alluding to the abuse of Boniface at Agnagni (XX. 85–90), she is also a monstrous Pasiphaean figure of sexual desire, a figure of fascination within Dante's autobiography, breaking his separation from events — apparent in how he was looking — making both historical and personal events speak simultaneously, as they do throughout the *Commedia*. The *puttana* contrasts with Matelda, and negates, potentially, the narcissism of the woman in love, by seducing and fascinating even more than the Siren.

Whereas in the pageant which brought on Beatrice, everything was seen syncretically, here, everything confuses and is ambiguous as Dante ceases to be a spectator and is drawn into the events, when the woman attempts seduction, sitting in the chariot, like Pluto seducing Proserpine. What historical episode is allegorized by the *puttana* attempting Dante's seduction, and the consequent rage of the giant? There is none; as Durling and Martinez say in their notes to XXXII. 155–59 (p. 565), 'no persuasive explanation has been offered for these hints of the pilgrim's involvement in the foretold degradation of the church'. The giant, in addition to his political significance, is the monstrous phallic reaction to the *puttana*, which may be a masculine potential in Dante himself. Certainly, the

description of the giant, 'di sospetto pieno e d'ira crudo' (full of suspicion and cruel with rage, l. 157) goes beyond the politics behind the historical Philip the Fair, in engaging passional states not relevant, necessarily, to Philip. The beating may echo the sadism of 'Così nel mio parlar' (*Rime*, no. 80), culminating in its three references to vengeance (no. 80, ll. 73, 77, 83). This would make for an extraordinary affective state at the canto's end, when Dante seems to be inseparable from all three figures: the seductive woman, the male she attracts and who is looking at her, and the giant who punishes her.[35] Affective states from the different cornices return, but are supplemented. The Dante who watches sees a state where narcissism cannot be established, nor a sense of the human as complete, or autonomous. He begins detached, but the visions become more like carnival, which 'does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators'.[36] Individual subjectvivity is broken down, both through the presence of allegory, and the breakdown of the allegory's narrative form. The lechery of the *puttana* and the beating by the giant imply the undoing of the subject through 'powers of horror', suggesting that nothing can be learned, that the 'I' is as fragmented as ever, held by partial affective states neither fully nameable, nor resolvable into narcissism.[37]

These cantos, which build on the disparity between figures who cannot be said to be innocent, whatever affective freedom has been won, and a place which embodies innocence, present contradictions. Dante's arrival at the summit of the mountain is a narcissistic dream of possession of truth, and of freedom over affect, with the sense that the truth to be contemplated fulfils the self. But the reverse of these things turns out to be the case, beginning with Beatrice's rebuke, in contrast to how Dante was addressed by Matelda. Meeting Beatrice, the perceptions which he receives of himself on the mountain's summit reverse his narcissistic expectations, and produce mourning and the need to confess. If Cavalcanti has

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[35] See Colin Hardie, 'Beatrice's Chariot in Dante's Earthly Paradise', *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch*, 38 (1960), 137–72.

[36] Bahktin, *Rabelais and his World*, p. 7. On giants, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

[37] Kristeva's 'powers of horror' which subtend the taboos and codifications that constitute the human correspond to the *il y a* in Levinas: a source of horror undermining the subject's sense of his completeness. For Kristeva, to undo these 'codes' and to see what underlies the human, is apocalyptic: unveiling (*Powers of Horror*, p. 209). Dante comes, at the end of *Purgatorio*, to a sense of the apocalyptic, which threatens to unveil what Kristeva, thinking of Levinas, calls 'the unnameable' — everything that narcisssism must negate.

been remembered within these cantos, his definition of love's affect must also be present as destabilizing, destructive. The imprints of Dante's loves which remain within memory after going through Lethe, can still be a source of horror, needing the waters of Eunoè. Though Eunoè is named by the unnamed Matelda in XXVIII. 131, the name meaning 'knowledge of good', this, and its existence is Dante's creation, and it appears, with Lethe, in Canto XXXIII, lines 112–45, as one of two rivers coming from the single fountain, like two eyes; even recalling the two lists of Cato's beard. Placed where it is in *Purgatorio*, Eunoè's existence seems supplementary, a sign, like Matelda's name, introduced at the same point (XXXIII. 119) as virtually another neologism, showing the text still overflowing, exceeding always because there it cannot complete a system of thought.

Throughout this reading of *Purgatorio*, the possibility of completeness of definition, or assessment of any affective state, has been taken away: states are in excess of what can be held to account, or even confessed. The text's 'modern' quality, in contrast to its ordered medievalism, lies in its extraordinarily engaged attention to such double and shifting states of affect. And their repetition, their insistence in dreams, and their chaotic reprise in the visions of Canto XXXII, suggests that in contrast to this movement upstream towards the source, their sources cannot be known and fully confessed.

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